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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS

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VOL. I
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FOREWORD

The Government of West Bengal started the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1951, and made arrangements for the publication of a half-yearly bulletin entitled "Our Heritage" embodying the contributions made by its members. Last year the Government decided to undertake the publication of a series of Texts and Studies. The present work, Studies in the Upapuranas, the first in the Studies Series, is from the pen of Dr. R. C. Hazra, Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa at this College. The work is expected to consist of four more volumes of equal length, and will cover the entire Upapurāṇa literature, about which very little was known to scholars. The value and importance of the Purāṇa literature for the study of social, religious and even political history of ancient and mediaeval India have been widely felt and recognised by all Indologists. In the present volume, Dr. Hazra deals with the Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas examining fully the various problems connected with the individual texts, and also giving analysis of their contents. I have reasons to believe that this and the other volumes to be published subsequently will remove a long-felt want and bring out the manifold interest of an important but much neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

GAURINATH SASTRI
General Editor.

PREFACE

It is a long-standing, but erroneous, belief of wide popularity that the Upapurāṇas are 'later and inferior works' and scarcely deserve any serious attention. My chief object in the present work has been to point out to the scholarly world that the Upapurāṇas are rich as much in number as in content, that some of them are much earlier than many of the so-called Mahāpurāṇas, and that, like the extant Mahāpurāṇas, they are of capital importance not only for the study of the social and religious institutions of the Hindus from the pre-Gupta period downward but also for varied information of literary, historical, geographical and cultural interest. I have, therefore, taken pains to analyse briefly the contents of those Upapurāṇas which have been available to me either in printed forms or in mansucripts and to furnish as much useful and interesting information as possible on these points. I could not overlook the fact that it is by no means easy for many ardent and inquisitive students of ancient Indian history and culture to get access to the printed editions or manuscripts of the different Upapurāṇas, which are often very difficult to procure, or to go conveniently and profitably through these mostly extensive works written in Sanskrit. Feeling that without any idea of the period of origin and development of a work, especially of the Purāṇa literature, it is neither possible nor safe to enter into a critical and scientific study of its contents, I have tried to determine the approximate dates of the individual Upapurāṇas, or parts thereof, by thoroughly utilising all such materials, including those contained in the works themselves, as have been found helpful in determining their relative and absolute chronology. I have also taken full notice of the references and quotations from these works in the Smṛti commentaries, Nibandhas, etc. But in the case of those Upapurāṇas which have been drawn upon profusely by the comparatively early Nibandha-writers, the quotations made from them in the later Nibandhas have generally been overlooked. Those references and quotations, however, which I have been able to trace in the respective Upapurāṇas, will be enlisted in Appendix I at the end of the final volume. As regards the lost Upapurāṇas, I have tried to give as much information as possible about their contents, dates and provenance, on the basis of the references and quotations contained in the Nibandhas and other works, Sanskrit or otherwise. I should mention in this connection that in examining the different Upapurāṇas I have found some (viz., Devī-purāṇa, Kriyā-yogasāra, Kālikā-purāṇa, Mahābhāgavata, Dharma-purāṇa, Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa, etc.) which contain highly valuable materials for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of Eastern India, especially of Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

As the Purāṇa literature consists of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas as well as of the numerous Upapurāṇas, a complete idea of this vast literature is not possible without the study of both these classes of writings. My present work, therefore, has been devoted exclusively to the latter class of books, my previous one entitled 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' being concerned with the Mahāpurāṇas only. I should point out here that in the present volume as well as in the others to be published subsequently I have collected materials which support my views, set forth in the second part of my Purāṇic Records, regarding the different stages in the development of the Hindu rites and customs.

In writing these volumes I have utilised the works of various modern authors in different connections, but I am specially indebted to the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., D. Litt., whose monumental work, viz., History of Dharma-śāstra, has been a great source of inspiration to me and encouraged me to take up a vast subject for critical study. As regards the dates of the Smṛti works, I have followed Mm. Dr. Kane's conclusions almost invariably.

I feel much hesitation in treading upon a field which is almost untrodden, in writing upon a subject on which very little has been written; but I leave my work, which has extended over a number of years, to speak for itself. I venture, however, to claim that my efforts will add to the knowledge of the much neglected subject and bring out its many-sided importance. I have tried to confine myself, from direct reading, strictly to available facts and avoid vague or sweeping generalisations, always bearing in mind that the chains of historical research can never be forged without the links supplied by individual facts.

For reasons stated in the Preface to my Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs and for the sake of uniformity I have used, in a few cases, the Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta) editions of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, printed in Bengali characters, in preference to the more widely used Devanāgarī editions; but in doing so I have always taken particular care to give full references to, or add comparative notes on, the different editions of these works, so that scholars may not find any difficulty in tracing the references in the South Indian and other Devanāgarī editions.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Board of Editors of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series for accepting the present work for publication and also to our principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for recommending it to the Board.

Certain portions of this work were published as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have spared no pains to improve considerably upon these published portions with fresh materials collected by more recent studies.

Calcutta
March, 1958

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

ABBREVIATIONS

Adyar Library Cat. = A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).

AnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.

Benares Sans. College Cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

Bhāg. = Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

Bhandarkar, Report = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, and 1890-91.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems.

Bhav. = Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta).

Bnār. = Bṛhannāradīya-purāṇa.

Bod. Cat.—See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat'.

Bṛhaddh. = Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.

B. S. = Bengali Saṃvat.

Bühler, Report = G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.

Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.

Bv = Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.

Cal. Sans. Coll. = Calcutta Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).

Cat. = Catalogue.

Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).

Chap., chaps. = Chapter, chapters.
Com. = Commentary.
Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.
Dbh = Devī-bhāgavata.
Ed. = Edition (or, Edited by, as the case may be).
Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) = Julius Eggeling, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).
Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.
Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.
Fol., fols. = Folio, folios.
Gaṇ. = Gaṇeśa-purāṇa.
Gḍ = Garuḍa-purāṇa.
Hazra, Purāṇic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.
Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar = Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.
IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Off. = India Office (London).
Ind. Off. Cat.—See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat'.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. = A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).
-kh. (as in Sṛṣṭi-kh., Bhūmi-kh., etc.) = -khaṇḍa.
Kūr. = Kūrma-purāṇa.
Lg = Liṅga-purāṇa.
List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss = List of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi Manuscripts purchased by order of Government and deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1901.

Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature = A. A. Macdodell, A History of Sanskrit Literature.

Mārk. = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.

Mat. = Matsya-purāṇa.

Mbh = Mahābhārata.

Mitra, Bikaner Cat. = R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.

Mitra, Notices = R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Mss.

M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat. = M. Rangacharya, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Ms, Mss = Manuscript, Manuscripts.

Nar. = Narasiṃha-purāṇa.

P., pp. = Page, pages.

-p. (as in Matsya-p., Kūrma-p. etc.) = -purāṇa.

Poleman, Census of Indic Mss = H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.

P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat. = P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.

Pd = Padma-purāṇa.

Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat. = Hrishikeśa Shastri and Śivacandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat. = S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Shastri, ASB Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

Shastri, Nepal Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Shastri, Notices = Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second Series.

Śiv. = Śiva-purāṇa.

Sk = Skanda-purāṇa.

Stein, Jammu Cat. = M. A. Stein, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Univ. = University.

Vaṅga. = Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Var. = Varāha-purāṇa.

Veṅkaṭ. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).

Viṣ. = Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

Viṣṇudh. = Viṣṇudharmottara.

Weber, Berlin Cat. = A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der Kōniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853 = A. Weber, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek, Vol. I (Verzeichniss der Sanskrit Handschriften). Berlin, 1853.

Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss = M. Winternitz, A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS

VOL. I

CHAPTER I

THE UPAPURĀṆA LITERATURE—ITS EXTENT, ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN

In these days when all Indologists are feeling the want of a true history of Indian life and thought of the past and our able antiquarians are directing their attention and energy towards its reconstruction, it is a matter of great surprise and disappointment that very little is known and still less has yet been said about those valuable records of Indian life and thought which are known as Upapurāṇas (or secondary Purāṇas[1]). The whole responsibility for such apathy of scholars towards these valued treasures must be laid on the high importance which has been attached, deservedly or undeservedly, for hundreds of years to the eighteen 'great' (Mahat) Purāṇas[2] as well as on the disparaging prefix '*upa*' attached to the common title (Purāṇa) to characterise those Purāṇic works which are different from the 'great eighteen'. Whatever the reason may be, we should not, with our critical outlook befitting the present age and its culture, be swayed by mere tradition and baseless impression but be ready to give due consideration to this long neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

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[1] The work done by scholars on the Upapurāṇas is very meagre and scarcely deserves any serious mention. H. H. Wilson, who, in his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological, and in the Preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, says much on the Purāṇas, devotes only about five pages to the Upapurāṇas (see Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, Preface, pp. lxxxvi-xci); Haraprasad Shastri's treatment of some of the Upapurāṇas in the Preface (pp. cc-ccxv) to his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), is no better than mere cataloguing; M. Winternitz devotes on the whole about seven pages to the treatment of only a very few of the Upapurāṇas in his History of Indian Literature, Vol. I; J. N. Farquhar gives, in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India, very short and scrappy information about a few Upapurāṇas only; the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I spares only about half a page for the treatment of these works; the Bengali encyclopaedia Viśvakoṣa, which devotes as many as 165 pages to the principal Purāṇas, deals with the Upapurāṇas in 3 columns only (see Viśvakoṣa, Vol. II, pp. 419-420); A. A. Macdonell finishes his treatment of the Upapurāṇas in four lines only, without mentioning even a single name (see Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 302); and the Encyclopâedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. X, p. 455) has fourteen lines devoted to the Upapurāṇas. Besides these there are the Notices and the Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss, especially those of R. L. Mitra, J. Eggeling and Th. Aufrecht, as well as about a dozen isolated articles (except those of the present writer) on only a few of the Upapurāṇas. This is practically the whole work that has been done on the Upapurāṇas up to the present time.

Following the tradition of the Mahāpurāṇas, orthodox opinion tries to limit the number of the Upapurāṇas rigidly to 'eighteen'[3] even in those cases where the promulgators of such opinion are fully conscious of the existence of a larger number;[4] but while in the enumerations of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the titles,[5] this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of the disagreement we give below a number of lists of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources.

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[2] Though the name 'Mahāpurāṇa' for the 'eighteen' principal 'Purāṇas' is of very late origin, being found only in Bhāg. XII. 7. 10 and 22 and Bv IV. 131. 7 and 10, it has now become very popular and is universally used for the older name 'Purāṇa'.

[3] See Pd, Pātāla-khaṇḍa 111. 94b-98; Kūr. I. 1. 16-20; Sk V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52; Sk VII. i. 2. 11-15; Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) 1. 13b-18 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378); Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382); Revā-māhātmya (which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p. and is very much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa occurring in Sk V ; see Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116); Dbh I. 3. 13-16; Gḍ I. 223. 17-20 (=Jīvānanda's edition I. 215. 17-20=Vaṅgavāsī edition I. 27. 17-20); Bṛhaddh. I. 25. 18-19 and 23-26; Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 28-31 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p 1230); Gaṇ. I. 1. 8; Bhāg. XII. 7. 22; Bv IV. 131. 22; Ekāmra-p. 1, 20b-23; Vindhya-māhātmya, chap. 4 (ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a); Vāruṇopapurāṇa, chap. 1 (Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, p. 10331); Bhakti-ratnākara of Gopāla-dāsa (Mitra, Notices, IX, No 2918, p. 32).

For the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas contained in verses quoted from the 'Kūrma-p' , 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' etc., also see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-15, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I (Dāna-khaṇḍa), pp. 532-3 and II (Vrata-khaṇḍa). i, p. 21, and Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10.

Mat. 53. 59-62 mention only four Upapurāṇas, viz., Nārasiṃha, Nandī-purāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, and seem to be ignorant of the group of 'eighteen'.

[4] For example, after expressly mentioning that the Upapurāṇas are

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'eighteen' in number and then giving the titles of the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 27) says:

> anyāś ca saṃhitāḥ sarvā mārīca-kāpilādayaḥ/
> sarvatra dharma-kathane tulya-sāmarthyam ucyate//,

thus intimating its knowledge not only of the Mārīca and Kāpila Upapurāṇas but also of others which were considered as much authoritative as the famous 'eighteen'. (Note the word 'ādayaḥ' in 'mārīca-kāpilādayaḥ').

[5] In some of the lists of 'eighteen' principal Purāṇas the title 'Śiva' or 'Śaiva' is found in place of 'Vāyavīya'. See, for instance, Viṣ. III. 6. 21ff., Bhāg. XII. 7. 23ff. and XII. 13, 4ff., Kūr. I. 1, 13ff., Pd I. 62. 2ff., IV. 111. 90ff., VI. 219. 25ff., and VI. 263. 77ff., Var. 112. 69ff., Mārk. 137. 8ff. (=Veṅkaṭ. edition 134. 8ff.), Lg I. 39. 61ff., Śiv. V (Vāyavīya-saṃhitā). i. 1. 38ff., Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) 1. 7-10 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1377), Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382), Saṃbhava-kāṇḍa of the Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa of the Śaṃkara-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1363), and so on.

Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 319, 4196 and 4649) of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25) give the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas thus: Brahma-p., Pādma, Brahmāṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brahmavaivarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhaviṣya, Gāruḍa, Laiṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-p., Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrībhāgavata. (It is to be noted that this list omits the Vāmana and the Nāradīya and names the Mahābhāgavata and the Śaiva in their stead).

The ASB edition of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 20-22) mentions the Mahābhāgavata but omits the name of the Śrībhāgavata, the number of Purāṇas named in it being thus seventeen. But the Vaṅga. edition, which mentions the Śrībhāgavata, wrongly replaces the Mahābhāgavata by the 'Nṛsiṃha', which is reckoned again in a subsequent verse as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas.

In the verses of a 'Kālikā-p'. quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531, the 'Śaiva', Kālikā (for Bhāgavata), Saura and Vahnija (i.e. the genuine Āgneya-p. passing under the title 'Vahni-purāṇa') are included among the eighteen principal Purāṇas.

I. Kūrma-p. I. 1. 17-20—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya ?); 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.[6]

II. Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 19) of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin (who gives the following list of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas on the authority of the 'Kūrma-p.')—

1. Sanatkumārīya; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nandīpurāṇa; 4. Śivadharma; 5. Durvāsaḥ-purāṇa; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Auśanasa; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

III. 'Kaurma' (i. e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva[7]—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma,

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6 ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃham ataḥ param/
tṛtīyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam//
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam/
durvāsasoktam āścaryaṃ nāradīyam ataḥ param//
kāpilaṃ vāmanaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāṇḍaṃ vāruṇaṃ caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca//
māheśvaraṃ tathā sāmbaṃ sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam/
parāśaroktaṃ mārīcaṃ tathaiva bhārgavāhvayam//
(Kūr. I. 1. 17-20).

These verses occur in the Veṅkaṭ. and ASB editions of the Kūrma-p. without any difference in readings, but in the former edition there is the alternative reading 'aparaṃ mārīcaṃ' for 'mārīcaṃ tathaiva' in the last line.

7 See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—
kaurme—anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/
tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—
ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/ etc.

declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya; 7-8. Nandikeśvara-yugma; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Kāpila; 11. Vāruṇa ; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Daiva, which yields success in all the ends of life ; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara[8] ; 17. Mārīca ; 18. Bhāskara.

IV. 'Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person ; 5. Durvāsasokta (called Aścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya ; 7. Kāpila ; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita ; 10. Brahmāṇḍa ; 11. Vāruṇa ; 12. Kālikā ; 13. Māheśvara ; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

V. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 532-3—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra (v. l. 'nāradaṃ' for 'nāndaṃ'); 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāra-

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Raghunandana reads 'daivaṃ sarvārtha-siddhidam' and 'parāśaroktam aparam' for 'sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam' and 'parāśaroktaṃ mārīcam' respectively of the Kūrma-p. (for which see the immediately preceding foot-note).

The verses of the Kūrma-p., as given in the Vaṅga. edition (pp. 264-5) and Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's edition (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva, reads 'śāmbaṃ' for 'cātha' (in the line 'kāpilaṃ vāruṇaṃ cātha'), and 'pādmaṃ' for 'śāmbaṃ' (in the line 'māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ etc'.). As these readings make the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen, they should be rejected.

[8] Thus the Parāśara-upapurāṇa seems to be distinguished from the Viṣṇu-p. or the spurious 'Vaiṣṇava' (mentioned by Vallālasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 63), which was spoken out by Parāśara.

dokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The highly excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ pravaram); 17-18. Bhāgavata-dvaya (bhāgavataṃ dvayam).

VI. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person (v.l. 'nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ' for 'śivadharmākhyaṃ'); 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6 Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava (v.l. 'mārīcaṃ' for 'mānavaṃ'); 9. Uśanaserita: 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The foremost (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśroktaṃ prathamam); 17-18. Bhāgavata-dvaya.

VII. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in the Śabda-kalpadruma (under 'Upapurāṇa')[9]—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra (kumāreṇānubhāṣitam);

4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya; 7. Nandikeśvara-yugma; 8. Uśanaserita; 9. Kāpila; 10. Vāruṇa; 11. Śāmba; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Pādma; 15. Daiva, which accomplishes all the ends of life (daivaṃ

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[9] It is to be noted that although the verses of the Kūrma-p. quoted in the Śabda-kalpadruma agree almost literally with the verses of the 'Kaurma' quoted in the Vaṅga. ed. (pp. 264-5) and Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's ed. (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana, the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' and the 'Pādma' (occupying the seventh and the fourteenth place respectively in the list) makes the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen. If the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas are taken to form one Upapurāṇa, then, of course, the number becomes eighteen.

sarvārtha-sādhakam); 16. Another (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhāskara.

VIII. Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-purāṇa—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandin; 5. Durvāsa-saṃprokta; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. The sacred Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālī-purāṇa, also called Kālakaṇṭha; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-liṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa, also called Susūkṣma; 15. Saura-purāṇa, also called Sāvitra; 16. Pārāśarya; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.[10]

IX. Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52[11]—

1. Saura, a Śaiva work consisting of two Saṃhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya and being widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha, belonging to the Padma-p.; 3. Śaukeya, belonging to the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa; 4. Bārhaspatya, belonging to the Vāyavya (Purāṇa); 5. Daurvāsasa, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6. Nāradokta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. Kaurma.

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[10] ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/
tṛtīyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam//
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ purāṇaṃ nandineritam/
tato durvāsa-saṃproktaṃ nāradīyaṃ tataḥ param//
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāṇḍaṃ ca tataḥ puṇyaṃ vāruṇākhyaṃ tataḥ param//
tataḥ kālīpurāṇākhyaṃ kālakaṇṭhaṃ ca nāmataḥ/
tato vāsiṣṭhaliṅgākhyaṃ nāmnā māheśvaraṃ tv iti//
tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyaṃ susūkṣmam iti ceritam/
tataḥ saurapurāṇākhyaṃ sāvitram iti ceritam//
pārāśaryaṃ ca mārīcaṃ bhārgavaṃ muni-puṃgavāḥ//
Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382.

[11] These verses, as given in the Vaṅga. ed. of the Skanda-p., have no variation in readings.

X. Revā-māhātmya which, though much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.—

1. Saura, which forms an excellent supplement (khila) to the Brahma-p., deals with topics on Śiva, consists of two Saṃhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya, and is widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra also; 2. Nārasiṃha, belonging to the Padma-p.; 3. Nandā-purāṇa, belonging to the 'Vaiṣṇava'; 4. Śivadharma, belonging to the Vāyu-p.; 5. Daurvāsasa, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6. Nāradokta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. Kaurma[12].

XI. Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) i. 2. 11-15[13]—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Skānda (v.l. 'nāndam' both in the Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. editions of the Skanda-p.), spoken out by Kumāra (kumāreṇānubhāṣitam); 3. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya? – durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Another Kālikā (anyat kālikā-

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[12] idaṃ brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamam/
saṃhitā-dvaya-saṃyuktaṃ puṇyaṃ śiva-kathāśrayam//
ādyā sanatkumāroktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā/
sanatkumāra-nāmnā 'pi tad vikhyātaṃ mahāmune//
dvitīyaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ ca purāṇe padma-saṃjñite/
nandāpurāṇaṃ ca tathā tṛtīyaṃ vaiṣṇave matam//
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ purāṇe vāyu-saṃjñite/
daurvāsasaṃ pañcamaṃ ca smṛtaṃ bhāgavate sadā//
bhaviṣye nāradoktaṃ ca sūribhiḥ kath(itaṃ) purā/
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam//
brahmāṇḍaṃ vāruṇaṃ cātha kālikāhvayam eva ca/
māheśvaraṃ tathā sāmbaṃ sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam//
pārāśaraṃ bhāgavataṃ kaurma(ṃ) cāṣṭādaśaṃ kramāt//
Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

[13] These verses, as occurring in the Vaṅga. ed. of the Skanda-p., have no difference in readings.

hvayam); 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ paramam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

XII. Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) I. 13b-18[14]—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra (sanatkumāreṇa proktam); 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda; 4. Śivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. The eminent (viśiṣṭam) Kālīpurāṇa; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa; 15. Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauraṃ mahādbhutam); 16. Pārāśara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava, that accomplishes Dharma and Artha in their entirety (sarva-dharmārtha-sādhakam).

XIII. Garuḍa-p. I. 223. 17-20[15]—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharma, declared by Nandīśvara (nandīśvara-bhāṣitam); 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; [15. Saura] ; 16. Another (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

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[14] For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378 (v. l. 'vāsiṣṭha-liṅgākhyaṃ' for 'vāsiṣṭha-laiṅgākhyaṃ' in verse 17a).

[15] For these verses see also Jīvānanda's ed. I. 215. 17-20 and Vaṅga. ed. I. 227. 17-20.

Note that with the reading 'evaṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam' (in verse 20a—māheśvaraṃ tathā sāmbam evaṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam) the number of the Upapurāṇas becomes seventeen, and not eighteen. So, we should read 'sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam' for 'evaṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam'. For the reading 'sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam' see Kūr. I. 1. 20a, Sk V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 51b and VII. i. 2. 14a, and so on. See also the other lists mentioning the Saura-p.

XIV. Padma-p., Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 111. 94b-98—

1. Ādya, named Sanatkumāra (ādyaṃ sanatkumārākhyam); 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Āṇḍa (Skānda?); 4. Durvāsasa (? Daurvāsasa); 5. Another Nāradīya (nāradīyam athānyaṃ ca, v. l. athānyac ca); 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa-prokta; 9. Another Brahmāṇḍa (brahmāṇḍam ca tathāparam); 10. Vāruṇa; 11. Kālikā; 12. Māheśa; 13. Sāmba; 14. Saura; 15. Pārāśara; 16. Mārīca; 17. Bhārgava; 18. Kaumāra.

XV. Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16—

1. Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nāradīya; 4. Śiva; 5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Kālikā; 11. Sāmba; 12. Nandi-kṛta; 13. Saura; 14. Parāśara-prokta; 15. The highly extensive (ativistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāsiṣṭha.

XVI. Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 25. 23-26—

1. Ādipurāṇa; 2. Āditya; 3. Bṛhannāradīya; 4. Nāradīya; 5. Nandīśvara-purāṇa;[16] 6. Bṛhannandīśvara; 7. Śāmba; 8. Kriyāyogasāra; 9. Kālıkā; 19. Dharmapurāṇa; 11. Viṣṇudharmottara; 12. Śivadharma; 13. Viṣṇudharma; 14. Vāmana; 15. Vāruṇa; 16. Nārasiṃha; 17. Bhārgava; 18. The excellent (uttamam) Bṛhaddharma.

XVII. Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 28-31—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda; 4. Śivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradīyaka; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa;

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[16] This Upapurāṇa, which occupies the fifth place, is named as 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa' (and not as 'Nandīśvara-purāṇa') in the ASB ed. (I. 25. 24) as well as in the Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) and Ind. Off. Ms No. 1313a (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-29, No. 3402) of the Bṛhaddharma-p.; but in the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a), it is mentioned as 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa'.

12. Kālīpurāṇa; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Parāśara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.[17]

XVIII. Vindhya-māhātmya (claiming to belong to the Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa), chap. 4—

1. Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nāradīya; 4. Śiva; 5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila; 7. The holy (puṇyam) Mānava; 8. Auśanasa; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Kālikākhya; 11. Sāmba; 12. The auspicious (work) compiled by Nandī (nandī-kṛtaṃ śubham); 13. Saura; 14. Pārāśara; 15. The highly extensive (ativistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara; 17. Bhārgavākhya; 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāśiṣṭha.[18]

XIX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—

1. Ādya (called) Sanatkumāra (ādyaṃ sanatkumaram); 2. Nāradīya; 3. Nārasiṃha; 4. Śaivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa;

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[17] ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/
nāndākhyaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ daurvāsaṃ nāradiyakam//
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāṇḍaṃ vāruṇaṃ kālīpurāṇākhyaṃ tathaiva ca//
vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-saṃjaṃ ca sāmbaṃ sauraṃ tathaiva ca/
parāśara-samākhyaṃ ca mārīcaṃ bhārgavāhvayam//

ASB Ms No. 8205, fol. 2b (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4098). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4097 (Ms No. 308), p. 762; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230 (v.l. 'tathā cośanaseritam' for 'tathaivośanaseritam' in line 3, and 'vāsiṣṭhaṃ laiṅga-saṃjñam' for 'vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-saṃjñam' in line 5); and Ms No. 38 in the Calcutta Government Sanskrit College (v.l. 'vāsiṣṭhaṃ laiṅga-saṃjñam' in line 5).

The above verses of the Parāśara-upapurāṇa have been quoted as from 'Parāśara-purāṇa' in Tryambaka Oka's Ācāra-bhūṣaṇa, p. 318 (v.l. 'nandākhyam' in line 2).

[18] sanatkumāra(ṃ) prathamaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/
nāradīyaṃ śivaṃ caiva durgāsasanam (? daurvāsasam) anuttamam//
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ puṇyaṃ tathā cauśanasa(ṃ) smṛtam/
vāruṇaṃ kālikākhyaṃ ca sāmbaṃ nandīkṛtaṃ śubham//
sauraṃ pārāśaraṃ proktam ādityaṃ cātivistaram/
māheśvaraṃ bhārgavākhyaṃ vāśiṣṭhaṃ ca savistaram//

ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 745-6, No. 4086). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 746-7, No. 4087 (Ms No. 538).

6. Kāpileya; 7. Mānava; 8. Śaukra; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Kālīpurāṇa; 12. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga; 13. Māheśa; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Pārāśarya; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava, which sets on foot all (kinds of) Dharma (sarva-dharma-pravartakam).

XX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Gopāla-dāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara—
1. Sānatkumāra; 2. Nānda; 3. Nārasiṃha; 4. Daurvāsasa; 5. Śaivadharma; 6. Kāpileya; 7. Mānava; 8. Śaukra; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Vāsiṣṭha; 11. Sāmba; 12. Kālīpurāṇa; 13. Māheśa; 14. Pārāśara; 15. Bhārgava; 16. Mārīca; 17. Saura; 18. Brahmāṇḍa.[19]

XXI. Verses (on the Upapurāṇas) quoted anonymously in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10—
1. Ādya (sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ); 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda; 4. Śivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālīpurāṇa, declared by Vasiṣṭha (vāsiṣṭham)[20]; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa; 15. Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauraṃ mahādbhutam); 16. Pārāśara ; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

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[19] tataḥ aṣṭādaśa upapurāṇāni ca brahmavaivarta-mate—
sānatkumāraṃ nāndaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca/
daurvāsasaṃ śaivadharmaṃ kāpileyaṃ ca mānavam//
śaukraṃ ca vāruṇaṃ caiva vāsiṣṭhaṃ sāmbam eva ca/
kālipurāṇaṃ māheśaṃ pārāśaraṃ ca bhārgavam//
māricaṃ ca tathā sauraṃ brahmāṇḍākhyaṃ tathaiva ca/
etāny upapurāṇāni nigadanti purāvidaḥ//
(Mitra, Notices, IX, No. 2918, p. 32).

It should be mentioned here that these verses are quite different from those ascribed to the 'Brahmavaivarta' in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14.

[20] The relevant line naming the 'Kālīpurāṇa' is "tataḥ kālīpurāṇākhyaṃ vāsiṣṭhaṃ muni-puṃgavāḥ," in which 'vāsiṣṭham' may be a wrong reading for 'viśiṣṭaṃ'. This latter reading ('viśiṣṭaṃ') is found to occur in the Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) whose verses on the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas agree with those quoted in the Prasthāna-bheda.

XXII. Ekāmra-purāṇa 1. 20b-23—

1. Bṛhannārasiṃha; 2. Bṛhadvaiṣṇava; 3. Gāruḍa;[21] 4. Bṛhat Nāradīya; 5. Nāradīya;[22] 6. Prabhāsaka; 7. Līlāvatī-purāṇa; 8. Devī; 9. Kālikā; 10. Ākheṭaka; 11. Bṛhannandi; 12. Nandikeśvara; 13. Ekāmra; 14. Ekapāda; 15. Laghu-bhāgavata; 16. Mṛtyuñjaya; 17. Āṅgirasaka; 18. Śāmba.

XXIII. Vāruṇopapurāṇa, chap. 1—

1. Ādya, spoken out by Kumāra (ādyaṃ kumāra-kathitam); 2. Nṛsiṃha; 3. Nāradīyaka; 4. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga; 5. Mārīca; 6. Nandākhya; 7. Bhārgava; 8. Māheśvara; 9. Auśanasa; 10. Āditya; 11. Gaṇeśaka; 12. Kāliya (Kālīya?); 13. Kāpila; 14. Durvāsa (Daurvāsasa?); 15. Śivadharmaka; 16. (The Upapurāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśareṇa kathitam); 17. Sāmba; 18. Vāruṇa.[23]

A glance over the above lists will show how greatly divergent the lists sometimes are. Though, as will be shown hereafter, the same Upapurāṇa is in some cases mentioned in different lists under different titles, the obove lists supply us with the titles of many more Upapurāṇas than eighteen.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned in these lists, there were many others, of which some are available in printed forms, some still exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations,[24] and some must have been lost altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. In spite of the serious loss that has been

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[21-22] The 'Gāruḍa' and the 'Nāradīya' have not been named in the list of Mahāpurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p. (1. 18-20a). They have been replaced by the 'Śaiva' and the 'Nārasiṃha,' which are really Upapurāṇas.

[23] For the relevant verses see Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, No. 15663, p. 10331.

[24] From an examination of a large number of works, especially of the Sanskrit literature, we have been able to collect the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas including those mentioned in the above lists. Questions relating to the identification, date and contents of these Upapurāṇas will be dealt with as fully as possible in their respective cases.

brought upon the Upapurāṇa literature by the progress of time and the consequent changes in political administration as well as in the ideas, manners and customs of the people, the Upapurāṇic works are still rich in number and content.

Though it must be admitted that in this extensive Upapurāṇa literature there are works which are of comparatively late dates, it is by no means wise to suppose that the whole literature cannot lay claim to an early beginning. The verses of the Kūrma-p., which contain the list of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas', are found quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, pp. 792-3), Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśā, pp. 13-14), and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (I, pp. 532-3 and II. i, p. 21). The titles, as occurring in this list, are also given as derived from the 'Kūrma-p.' in Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19. A list very similar to that of the Kūrma-p. is found in the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.,[25] in Sk VII. i. 2. 11-15, in the Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-saṃhitā (which belongs to the Skanda-p. and of which all the four Khaṇḍas have been commented on by Mādhavācārya), in the Parāśara-upapurāṇa (1. 28-31),[26] and in the Garuḍa-p. (I. 223. 17-20).[27] In his Dānasāgara Vallālasena refers to the lists of Upapurāṇas occurring in the Kūrma and the Ādi-p.[28] These and similar other evidences, which can be adduced from different sources, are perhaps sufficient to show that the date of formation of the group of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas as found in the Kūrma-p. should be placed not later than 850 A.D. The upper limit of this date seems to be supplied by Matsya-p., chap. 53, which, by its mention of only those four Upapurāṇas (viz., Nārasiṃha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya) which were

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[25] Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382.

[26] For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762 (No. 4097).

[27] The extant Garuḍa-p. should be dated between 850 and 1000 A.D. and most probably in the tenth century. See Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 141-5.

[28] .... tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ /
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca //
Dānasāgara, p. 3, verses 12b-13a.

'well-established in society',[29] betrays its knowledge of a few more Upapurāṇas and at the same time its ignorance of any group of 'eighteen'. The probable date of Matsya-p., chap. 53 being 550-650 A. D. and the verses (59-63), in which these four Upapurāṇas have been mentioned, appearing to be spurious but by no means very late additions,[30] the date of *formation* of the group should be placed approximately between 650 and 800 A. D.[31]

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[29] Cf. upābhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratiṣṭhitāḥ.- Mat. 53. 59a.

[30] Mat. 59-63, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurāṇas, appear to be spurious for the following reasons:—

(i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurāṇas, although the chapter is on *dāna-dharma*;

(ii) there is no mention of the Upapurāṇas in verses other than those mentioned above;

(iii) though in the verses following verse 63 the classification and contents of the Purāṇas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurāṇas.

These verses are, however, not very late additions; for, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, who quotes all these verses except 59a in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, refers to Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of verse 63 (aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ etc.) as meaning the Kālikā-p. etc. (see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I. p. 18). As a matter of fact, Lakṣmīdhara quotes Mat. 53. 59b-63 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, I (Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa), p. 30 and takes the expression 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' of Mat. 53. 63 (aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat pradiśyate, etc.) to mean the Kālikā-p. etc. Caṇḍeśvara and Hemādri also quote verses 59b-61 and 62c-63 in their Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 31-32 and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 21-22 respectively. Following Lakṣmīdhara Caṇḍeśvara also explains the words 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' (occurring in Mat. 53. 63) as 'vinirgatam udbhūtaṃ yathā kālikāpurāṇādi'.

The omission of these verses by Aparārka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-56a in his com. (pp. 392-6) on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, by Vallālasena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his Dānasāgara (pp.463-6), and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his Dāna-kaumudī (p. 70), should not be taken seriously. These authors, who drew upon Mat. 53 in connection with donation, had nothing to do with verses 59-63 in which there is no mention of donation.

[31] Kūr. I. 1. 16-20, which deal with the origin and titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas and are given immediately after the list of the principal Purāṇas, do not seem to have belonged to the present Kūrma-p. in its Pāñcarātra

This approximate date of the *grouping* must not be taken to be the date of composition of the individual works forming the group, because all the eighteen Upapurāṇas, which do not belong to the same sect, could not have been written at the same time. The mention of the Nārasiṃha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya in Matsya-p., chap. 53 shows that there were Upapurāṇas which were written much earlier than the date of *formation* of the group; and such formation could be possible only when, in course of time, the Upapurāṇas attained the number of eighteen. It can be taken, therefore, that the age of the Upapurāṇas began approximately from the Gupta period.[32] Orthodox opinion, however, is sometimes in favour of tracing the Upapurāṇas to a much earlier date.[33]

As to the origin of the Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) and Parāśara-upapurāṇa record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the Upapurāṇas after listening to the eighteen Purāṇas from Vyāsa.[34] This tradition, which

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character; because the line 'idaṃ tu pañcadaśamaṃ purāṇaṃ kaurmam uttamam', which occurs after the list of the Upapurāṇas, clearly shows that it immediately followed the list of the principal Purāṇas and could not be separated by the list of the Upapurāṇas.

For the date of the Kūrma-p. see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 57ff.

[32] That this presumption is not totally baseless, we shall see when we analyse the Upapurāṇas individually.

[33] For instance, in connection with the Upapurāṇas Mitra Miśra says in his Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15): "etāny upapurāṇāni puraṇebhya eva nirgatāniti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgṛhītāni", thus implying that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñavalkya.

[34] Cf. Kūr. I. 1. 16—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāḥ//;

Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa 1. 12b-12a—

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā satyavatī-sutāt/
anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kīrtitāni tu//

(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378);

Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 27-28a—

evam ājñāpitās tena śivena munayaḥ purā/
śrutvā satyavatī-sūnoḥ purāṇaṃ sakalaṃ mudā//
anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāṇi vai/

(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230, and Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762).

is accepted as true by the Nibandha-writers and others,[35] assigns the Upapurāṇas to a date posterior to that of the Purāṇas and consequently to a position inferior to that of the latter. The Matsya-p. goes a step farther when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere subsections (*upabheda*) of the Purāṇas and propounds the theory that any Purāṇic work, which will be found to be 'different' (pṛthak) from the eighteen Purāṇas, must be known to have originated from one or other of these Purāṇas.[36] The great popularity of this theory is evidenced not only by its verbal reproduction in some of the Purāṇic works themselves[37] but also by the fact that the Nibandhakāras and others refer to, or reproduce, the lines of the Matsya-p. either in explaining the origin and nature of the different Upapurāṇas in accordance with this theory or in including, in the class of Upapurāṇas, those works of Purāṇic character which were not mentioned in the lists known to the respective writers, so that these last-mentioned works might be regarded as equally authoritative.[38] The extant Saura-p. also lends strong support to the above theory when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere supplements (khila) to the principal Purāṇas and attaches itself in that capacity to the Brahma-p.[39]

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[35] The entire verse

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāḥ//

of the Kūrma-p. is quoted in Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 19, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13, and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 532 and II. i, p. 21, whereas only the first line is quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 792 and by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary (named Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22.

[36] Cf. Mat. 53. 59a and 63—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ/

... ...

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat pradiśyate/
vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//

For the reading 'pradiśyate' (in the second line), see also the AnSS. and Veṅkaṭ. editions as well as that published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara.

[37] Cf., for example, Sk VII. i. 2. 79b and 83—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ/

... ...

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yac ca dṛśyate/
vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//

These lines agree remarkably with Mat. 53. 59a and 63 quoted above.

Though from these evidences it is clear that the above theory is one of long standing and wide acceptance, an examination of the

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[38] The verse 'aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ' of the Matsya-p. (53. 63) has been quoted in Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (named Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22 (v.l. 'pradṛśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'), in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'), in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v.l. 'pradṛśyate') and II. i, p. 22 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'), and in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'). As has already been said, Lakṣmīdhara explains this verse as referring to the Kālikā-p. etc. (See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30— aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate/vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//vinirgatam udbhūtam/yathā kālikāpurāṇādi. For this explanation of Lakṣmīdhara see also Kṛtya-ratnākara, p 32, and Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18). On the basis of this verse Mitra Miśra even goes so far as to say that as Yājñavalkya knew that the Upapurāṇas originated from the Purāṇas, he made no separate mention of the former but included them among the latter (cf. etāny upapurāṇāni purāṇebhya eva nirgatānīti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgṛhītāni.—Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15).

See also Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheba (p. 1) which says: 'atropapurāṇānām api purāṇe 'ntarbhāvaḥ'.

On the authority of this verse of the Matsya-p. the Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, pp. 18-19) and the Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) include the Kālikā-p., Vāyu-upapurāṇa, Devī-p., Bhaviṣyottara, Nandikeśvara-p., Ādi-p. etc. among the Upapurāṇas.

[39] Cf. Saura-p. 9. 12b-13a—

khilāny upapurāṇāni yāni coktāni sūribhiḥ/
idaṃ brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamam//

Cf. also Saura-p. 9. 5b—

etac copapurāṇānāṃ khilatvāl lakṣaṇaṃ smṛtam.

All these three lines have been quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p, 532, whereas only the second line is found to occur in the Skanda-p. (V. iii. 1, 46a, with v.l. 'sulabhaṃ sauram uttamam' for 'khilaṃ sauraṃ anuttamam'), the Revā-māhātmya (Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65), and the 'Śaiva-purāṇa' drawn upon in Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22.

Upapurāṇas themselves shows that these works do not often look upon this theory with the same respect as the principal Purāṇas or other works do. In a large number of cases the Upapurāṇas are found to, style themselves simply 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa' and to try to pass on their own merit without caring to attach themselves for the sake of authority to any of the principal Purāṇas;[40] and in a few cases they even vie with the principal Purāṇas by laying claim to their position.[41] Sometimes they are found to go a step farther and claim to be superior to the Mahāpurāṇas.[42] It is to be noted that the older of the extant Upapurāṇas do not give any list of Upapurāṇas, nor do they seem to be familiar with their common title 'Upapurāṇa' or with the theory of their origin which makes them mere supplements to the principal Purāṇas.[43] This disagreement between the time-honoured theory and the actual practice of the Upapurāṇas, especially of the older ones, naturally raises doubt as to the amount of truth contained in this theory. So, in order to acquaint ourselves with the actual state of things and thus to explain successfully this disagreement between theory and practice, we shall have to investigate into the origin of the present Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

In connection with our study on the present form and character of the principal Purāṇas we have said elsewhere[44] that the Purāṇa literature, which can be traced back to the Vedic period and was as sacred and important to the Vedic Aryans as the Vedas themselves, dealt with five subjects[45] in its earlier (but most probably not in its original) form, and that, in course of time, its character was changed by the Smārta Brahmin sectaries who took it up for successfully propagating their own ideas among the people who were gradually losing respect for the Vedas and the Brahmanical rules of life and conduct under the influence of the heresies as well as of the popular systems of religion then prevailing in the country. Hence the question arises—who among the Smārta Brahmin sectaries first concerned themselves with the writing and rewriting of the present Purāṇas?

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[40] For examples we may refer to the Narasiṃha-p., Devī-p., Kālikā-p. etc.

[41] For instance, in its Vāyavīya-saṃhitā (i. 1.41) the Śiva-p. lays claim to the position of a principal Purāṇa by saying that the Devī-bhāgavata (I.3.16) includes the Bhāgavata-p. among the Upapurāṇas, obviously in order to establish its own claim to the status of a Purāṇa; the 'Kālikā-p.' claims to be the real Bhāgavata-p. probably because of its dealing with the exploits of Bhagavatī (see the verse of the 'Kālikā-p.' quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531); and so on.

[42] See the line 'anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāṇi vai' of the Parāśara-upapurāṇa quoted in foot-note 34 above.

[43] For instance, see Devī-p., Narasiṃha-p, and Sāmba-p.

[44] Problems relating to the eighteen Purāṇas have been dealt with elaborately in our Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, published by the University of Dacca. See also B. C. Mazumdar's article on the origin and character of the Purāṇa literature in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III, Orientalia—Part 2, pp. 9-30.

From a study of the historical records of ancient India as well as of the Mahābhārata[46] and other early works of the Sanskrit literature we understand that in the pre-Gupta days the most powerful and popular systems of religion, except the heresies, were those of the Brāhmas (i.e. Brahmā-worshippers), the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas. So, it may be supposed that it was the Smārta adherents to these religious systems who first took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by fresh additions of Purāṇic works which were often characterised by the names of the sectarian deities or their chief forms. This supposition gains ground when we see from our examination and analysis of the contents of the extant Purāṇas[47] that those portions of these works which are to be dated earlier than 500 A. D. exhibit prominently the influence of the Smārta Brāhmas, Smārta Pāñcarātras and Smārta Pāśupatas.[48]

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[45] Viz., (i) *sarga* (creation), (ii) *pratisarga* (re-creation, i.e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, including the geography of the earth and the atmosphere as well as the distribution of different races on the surface of the earth), (iii) *vaṃśa* (genealogies of gods, kings and sages), (iv) *manvantara* (cosmic cycles or the Manu-periods of time, i. e. those great periods each of which is reigned over by a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race), and (v) *vaṃśānucarita* (history of the royal dynasties and of the families of sages).

[46] In the Mahābhārata the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas have been described. It makes no mention of the sub-sects which arose in course of time from these two mother sects.

[47] For analyses of the different Purāṇas see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8ff.

The next most important and powerful group of sectaries to concern themselves with the composition of the Purāṇas were the Bhāgavatas who rose to great prominence during the Gupta period. It was undoubtedly the Smārta adherents to the Bhāgavata system who wrote the Bhāgavata-p.

Though it is next to impossible to say definitely when the Smārta adherents to the four systems mentioned above first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses who had become seriously influenced by these[49] and other systems of religion, and what the number of the prevalent Purāṇas was when these sectaries first set their hands to them, it can scarcely be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. By its mention of a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa'[50] the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra shows that at the time of composition of this Sūtra work 'the term Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another and so convert their common title Purāṇa into a class designation.'[51] Hence it must be admitted that the number of Purāṇas had begun to multiply even before the time of Āpastamba. An examination of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas[52] shows that this growth in their number must have been accelerated by the activities of the sectaries mentioned above; and when, in course of time, their number became 'eighteen,'[53] it was rigidly fixed.

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[48] For instance, the influence of Brahmā as Supreme Brahma is prominent in Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chap. 45 (=chap. 42 in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. and chap. 48 in Bibl. Ind. and Jīvānanda's editions) which is one of the earliest chapters of the extant Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (see Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, English translation, Introduction, p. xx, and Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8-13); the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, which preserves in it the earliest portions of the extant Padma-p., was originally written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers (see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 120ff.); the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. are pre-eminently Pāśupata; the Viṣṇu and the extant Kūrma-p. in its earliest form are Pāñcarātra in character; and so on.

[49] For the original nature and early spread of these systems, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 193ff.

[50] The term 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' is self-contradicting, because the word '*purāṇa*' originally means 'ancient', and then, as a name in literature, it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, *Archaica*.

Here a question may be raised as to how the eighteen Purāṇas, which were the mouth-pieces of sectaries following different faiths, could be grouped together and regarded as equally important and authoritative by all of them and how they came to believe deeply in this group even at the sacrifice of their respective sectarian interests. In reply to this question we may refer to the spirit of religious syncretism,[54] as well as that of sectarian rivalry,[55] that went hand in hand in ancient India[56] and is to be found in the Hindu society even at the present day. These tendencies must have been incentives to the recasting of the same Purāṇa sometimes by different sects as well as to the interpolation of chapters on different deities in a particular Purāṇa; and in this way all the Purāṇas had come to attain equal, or almost equal, importance in the eyes of the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva before the grouping was made.

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[51] Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 50-51.

[52] For instance, the titles 'Brahma-purāṇa,' 'Padma-purāṇa,' etc. connect these works with Brahmā, who came out of the Lotus issuing from Viṣṇu's navel. Similarly, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, etc. are the names of Viṣṇu's incarnations; Garuḍa is Viṣṇu's mount; and so on.

[53] Among the numerals used for summing up a multitude of concrete objects, a line of abstract ideas, a number of traditional texts, and the like, the numeral 'eighteen' is often used in the position of a sacred number.

For a detailed study on this numeral see O. Stein in Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 1-37.

[54] Cf., for example, the great influence of the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems as well as of the doctrine of Trimūrti on the Purāṇas.

[55] See, for instance, Varāha-p., chaps. 70 and 71, Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh.), chap. 17, Liṅga-p. I. 107. 41-42, and so on. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8ff.

[56] The present Purāṇas amply testify to both these tendencies.

The non-inclusion of the word '*upapurāṇa*' in the Amarakoṣa which defines 'Purāṇa' as 'pañca-lakṣaṇa', and the mention of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas in the Viṣṇu-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p. etc. without any reference, direct or indirect, to any Upapurāṇa, tend to show that the group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas had been formed before the Upapurāṇas came into existence.[57] After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion, mentioned above, either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz., Saura,[58] Śākta etc., which began to hold the field and attain rivalry with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their Smārta adherents who interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent Purāṇic works styled 'Purāṇa'[59] in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus, with the progress of time the number of the Purāṇas was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas believed deeply that there could be no 'Purāṇa' beyond the famous 'eighteen', they were unwilling to assign these new Purāṇic works to a status equal to that of the famous Purāṇas. On the other hand, these new Purāṇic works had become too well-known and popular to be ignored totally. So, they introduced verses into the Matsya-p. to the effect that any Purāṇic work, which would be found to be different from the established eighteen, would be known to have originated from the latter. Thus, we think, the original position of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas and the rigidity of their number were maintained, and the Upapurāṇas also were given a position.

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[57] The tradition recorded in the Kūrma-p., Śiva-māhātmya-kh. etc. also says that the Upapurāṇas were written by different sages after the eighteen Purāṇas had been completed by Vyāsa. (See footnote 34 above).

[58] Though Sun-worship is of very ancient origin, the Saura sect, with Persian elements in the cult of the Sun, became prominent in India much later. See Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 151-3; Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., pp. 153-5; J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 198-9, 430-445.

[59] Note that Mat. 53.60 mentions 'Nandipurāṇa' (and not 'Nandi-upapurāṇa'), although the latter is called an '*upabheda*.'

The Narasiṃha-p., Sāmba-p., Devī-p. etc. call themselves 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa.'

The theory, thus propounded and introduced into the Matsya-p. by the staunch believers in the 'eighteen' Purāṇas, influenced not only the later Purāṇas but also the Upapurāṇas in some cases and was the root cause of giving rise to the common title 'Upapurāṇa'[60] for the new Purāṇic works by calling them mere supplements (*upabheda*) of the famous eighteen. It is for this reason that these new Purāṇic works are grouped under the common title 'Upapurāṇa' in some of the extant Purāṇas and that in a few cases the new Purāṇic works are found to attach themselves as supplements to one or other of the eighteen Purāṇas[61] or to call themselves 'Upapurāṇas' in spite of their independent character.[62]

As to the contents of the Upapurāṇas the Saura-p. says: "A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy (of gods, kings and sages), Manu-periods of time, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages. These are the characteristics of the Purāṇas such as the Brāhma etc. These, again, are known to be the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character."[63] The Bhāgavata and the Brahmavaivarta-p. also express the same opinion though from a different standpoint. Of these too works, the former says: "According to the Purāṇa-experts, a Purāṇa must be furnished with ten characteristics, viz., *sarga, visarga, vṛtti, rakṣā, antara, vaṃśa, vaṃśānucarita, saṃsthā, hetu* and *apāśraya*, and some, O Brahman, ascribe to it five characteristics by distinguishing between 'great' and 'small'."[64] The latter work, which is more direct and clear and seems to follow the former in its enumeration, says that an Upapurāṇa is to have five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, cosmic cycle, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages, whereas a Mahāpurāṇa is to have ten, viz., *sṛṣṭi, visṛṣṭi, sthiti, pālana, karma-vāsanā, manu-vārtā, pralaya-varṇana, mokṣa-nirūpaṇa, hari-kīrtana* and *deva-kīrtana*.[65] Whatever may be the views about the contents of the Upapurāṇas, an examination of the extant Upapurāṇas shows that very few of them conform even approximately to the above views. In spite of the great influence of the old tradition that a Purāṇa is to deal with five subjects, the Upapurāṇas, which are more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects than the

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[60] The Bhāgavata-p. (XII. 7. 10 and 22) divides the Purāṇic works into two classes, (i) Alpa or Kṣullaka and (ii) Mahat. But the passage, in which this classification occurs, is of a very late date.

[61] For instance, the Saura-p. is called a supplement to the 'Brahma-p.' in the body of the work as well as in the chapter-colophons.

[62] See, for instance, the Parāśara-upapurāṇa (a Ms of which has been described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1229-30).

[63] sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/
vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañca-lakṣaṇam//
brāhmādīnāṃ purāṇānām uktam etat tu lakṣaṇam/
etac copapurāṇānāṃ khilatvāl lakṣaṇaṃ smṛtam//
Saura-p. 9. 4-5.

[64] sargo'syātha visargaś ca vṛtti-rakṣāntarāṇi ca/
vaṃśo vaṃśānucaritaṃ saṃsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ//
daśabhir lakṣaṇair yuktaṃ purāṇaṃ tadvido viduḥ/
kecit pañca-vidhaṃ brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayā//
Bhāg. XII. 7. 9-10.

(The terms '*sarga*', '*visarga*' etc. have been defined in Bhāg. XII. 7. 11-21).

The second verse is explained by Śrīdhara Svāmin as: 'daśabhir etair lakṣaṇair arthair yuktaṃ mahāpurāṇaṃ viduḥ/ kecit pañca-vidham/ sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/ vaṃśānucaritaṃ ceti purāṇaṃ pañca-lakṣaṇam// iti/ mahat purāṇam alpaṃ ceti vyavasthayā/ yatra daśāpi lakṣaṇāni pṛthak pṛthaṅ nirūpyante tan mahāpurāṇam/ yatra tv anyeṣāṃ pañcasv evāntarbhāvasya vivakṣā tad alpam iti vyavasthayetyarthaḥ/' Viśvanātha Cakravartin also explains this verse in the same way, and even with the same words, as Śrīdhara. According to these explanations the Mahāpurāṇas must deal with the ten subjects separately, whereas in the Upapurāṇas the five topics (creation, re-creation etc.) must include the remaining five.

As regards its own contents the Bhāgavata-p. (II. 9. 43) says that it has ten characteristics which are enumerated, with explanation, as *sarga, visarga, sthāna, poṣaṇa, ūti, manvantara, īśānukathā, nirodha, mukti* and *āśraya* (Bhāg. II. 7. 1-7). That there is practically no difference between the two lists of the ten characteristics of a Purāṇa, is shown by Śrīdhara Svāmin in his explanation of the verse 'sargo'syātha visargaś ca' (Bhāg. XII. 7. 9.)

Māhāpurāṇas and which arose at a time when the genealogies began to be neglected,[66] are never found to be serious about the genealogies of kings and sages. In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas include such genealogies, the ancient kings, especially of the Solar and Lunar races, are the chief points of interest, probably because of their giving a stamp of antiquity to these works, and nothing is said about any of the dynasties of the Kali age. Even as regards those genealogies which have been included in the Upapurāṇas, no care has been taken to preserve their correctness, but new myths and stories have been unscrupulously fabricated and attached to the important names in these genealogies. But in spite of such defects the Upapurāṇas are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and culture, and on this head alone they deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They not only afford us great insight into all phases and aspects of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, but also supply us with important information about the different branches of science and literature which were developed in ancient India and at the same time render us inestimable help in reconstructing some of those monumental works of the Sanskrit literature which have been lost for ever.[67] In these respects the Upapurāṇas are sometimes more important than the Mahāpurāṇas. The latter attained such an enviable and authoritative position from an early date that they were often worked upon by the different sectaries and, in

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65 Bv IV. 131. 6-10.

66 An examination of the extant Mahāpurāṇas shows that the custom of recording new dynastic history ceased with the early Guptas, after whom no important dynasty or monarch of India has been mentioned or described in the Purāṇas. This proves that from the Gupta period the Purāṇic tradition took, in practice, a new trend which culminated in turning the Purāṇas into books of myths and legends and Smṛti topics with highly imperfect, and sometimes forged, genealogical lists.

67 In some cases the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas contain summaries of ancient Sanskrit works such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and, more often, incorporate chapters and verses from old and authoritative works, some of which are no longer extant.

some cases, bodily replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the earlier ones.[68] So, the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made in different times and by different sects, is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution and careful discrimination. But very different is the case with the Upapurāṇas which, probably on account of their secondary position, have been worked upon much less freely by the later redactors and interpolators. They have thus been able to preserve, in a few cases, their older materials along with their distinctive sectarian character. It is for this reason that among the extant Upapurāṇas there are some which are much older than many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.[69] In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas have been subjected to modifications and interpolations or have been replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the works replaced,[70] the authors of these changes, modifications etc. are very often persons belonging to those sects to which the respective Upapurāṇas originally belonged. So, in spite of their modifications, interpolations or totally new forms, they are to be valued as the records of changes undergone in different ages by the respective sects to which these works originally belonged; and the hands of people belonging to more sects than one being scarcely laid on any one of them, their study is generally a little easier than that of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.

[68] For instance, we may refer to the present Brahma, Agni, and Garuḍa-p.

For information about these Purāṇas, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 134-157.

[69] We shall try to prove the truth of this statement when we shall deal with the question of chronology of the different Upapurāṇas.

The Upapurāṇas are cetainly not all 'later and inferior works' as F. E. Pargiter would make us believe. (See Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, p. 455 for Pargiter's views regarding the Upapurāṇas).

[70] The old tradition recorded in the verse

> 'kālenāgrahaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nṛpa/
> vyāsa-rūpam ahaṃ kṛtvā saṃharāmi yuge yuge//'

was as much applicable to the Upapurāṇas as to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is for this reason that works or chapters on older rites and customs were sometimes replaced by new ones.

It has already been said that the Upapurāṇa literature consists of a large number of works, of which some are available in printed forms, some exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, and some must have perished altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. Of these works, I shall first analyse those which were available to me in printed forms or manuscripts. The Upapurāṇas still existing in manuscripts beyond my reach or known from references and quotations will be dealt with later.

CHAPTER II

THE SAURA UPAPURĀṆAS

The Sun has been, under different names, an object of great adoration from the early Vedic period, and it is possible that there arose quite early a fairly extensive literature, both Purāṇic and otherwise,[1] on the praise and worship of this god, who appears in the Vedic works as one of the most prominent deities; but of the numerous Purāṇic works now extant it is only the Sāmba-p. which deals principally with the cult of the Sun. Chapters and extracts on the method and praise of Sun-worship occur in some of the other Purāṇas also, viz., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p., Skanda-p., Varāha-p., Matsya-p., Agni-p., Garuḍa-p., Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā-p., and so on. The Mārkaṇḍeya-p. contains a few chapters on the praise of and stories about the Sun.

The Vedic, epic and Sanskrit literatures abound in evidences regarding the early beginning and spread of the worship of the atmospheric sun as a god, but the conception of the Sun as an imaginary god of light and the practice of his worship in images came into vogue at a comparatively late period. That this later phase of Sun-worship was due to Magian influence is amply evidenced by the Scythian coins,[2] the Purāṇic works, the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chaps. 58 and 60), and a number of seals and inscriptions.[3] Probably during the reign of the Scythian kings or even earlier, a new form of Sun-worship was introduced in Northern India by bands of Magi priests who called their deity 'Mithra' (or 'Mihira'). These Magas, as the Magi priests were called in India, seem to have established their first settlement at a place called 'Mitra-vana' ('forest of Mitra') on the bank of the Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, and at this place they constructed a city called 'Mūla-sthāna' ('original place of settlement' or 'original place of the Sun'—modern Multan) and a Sun-temple[4] containing an image of the deity. As the Magian adherents to the worship of the Sun (Mithra) had a proselytising spirit and must have enjoyed state-support at least under the Scythian kings,[5] they set themselves most zealously to popularising their faith in different parts of India. In striking agreement with the orthodox followers of the Vedas, they pointed out to the people the various benefits of Sun-worship, viz., freedom from sins and diseases, attainment of peace and prosperity, success in enterprises, and so on.[6] They also took full advantage of the long-standing popularity of the deity in India and of his worship in a symbol which was very often a wheel or disc and not rarely a circle or a lotus.[7] As Viṣṇu, Śiva and many other deities had begun from a

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[1] For instance, in Bhaviṣya-p. I. 4. 89 we find mention of an ancient work dealing with the Saura Dharmas as declared by Nārada (saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahīpate). According to the Bhaviṣya, this work (most probably called 'Saura-dharma') as well as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, etc. was designated technically by the term 'Jaya' (see Bhaviṣya-p. I. 4. 87b-89).

The above line of the Bhaviṣya-p. is found quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22) with the reading 'mānavoktāḥ' for 'nāradoktāḥ'.

It should be mentioned here that the Saura work spoken out by Nārada (or Mānava) has become extinct.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1888, pp. 89ff.; Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, pp. 131, 134, 141-3, 155,

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and so on; Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, pp. 188-9, 198, and so on.

[3] See Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 154; J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 198-9.

[4] This historic temple, with the enshrined image of the Sun, was visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang as well as by Alberūnī, Al Edrisi, Abu Ishak al Ishtakhri, and several others.

For Hiuen Tsiang's description of this temple see Samuel Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, pp. 274-5.

[5] For the probable connection of the kings of the Śuṅga and Kaṇva dynasties as well as of the Hūṇas with Mitra- (Mithra-) worship, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 56-7.

[6] Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (Calcutta), LVII, 1357 B.S., pp. 25-43.

The story of Sāmba, as given in the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Varāha-p., shows clearly that the Magas laid special stress on the Sun's capacity for destroying sins and curing various diseases, especially leprosy.

[7] For the basis of the Vedic custom of representing Sūrya by a wheel or disc see Ṛg-veda I. 175. 4, IV. 28. 2, 30. 4, and V. 29. 10, in which Sūrya has

very early period to be widely worshipped in images,[8] for which public or private temples were often built, Indian people must have felt a great want in these respects with regard to the worship of the Sun, for which the Vedic people made no provision for the construction of any image or temple. Fortunately, the Magas came forward to remove this long-felt want, and it was to this contribution of these foreigners that their remarkable success in speedily popularising their faith was due to a very great extent. The Sāmba-p. (29. 2-6) points to this truth when it says:

> "na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale raviḥ |
> yathaitan maṇḍalaṃ vyomni sthīyate savitus tadā ||
> evam eva purā bhaktaiḥ pūjyate maṇḍalākṛtiḥ |
> yataḥ prabhṛti cāpy eṣā nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā ||
> sarva-loka-hitārthāya sūryasya puruṣākṛtiḥ |
>
> * * *
>
> gṛheṣu pratimāyās tu na tāsāṃ niyamaḥ kvacit ||
>
> * * *
>
> devāyatana-vinyāse kāryaṃ mūrti-parīkṣaṇam ||"

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been called a 'wheel' (cakra) or 'the wheel (cakra) of Sūrya' has been mentioned. See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa VII. 4. 1. 10, which mentions the placing of a disc of gold on the Fire altar to represent the Sun.

For wheels and lotuses representing the Sun on coins, etc. see Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XVI, pp. 51-3, and J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 198-9 and 432ff. See also Mat. 74-80, Pd, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 21. 216-321, Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 48-53, and so on.

For a Maṇḍala for Sun-worship see especially the Bhaviṣya-p. (Brāhma-parvan). In commenting on Āpastamba-dharmasūtra ii. 11. 29. 16 Haradatta says that the Draviḍas used to worship Āditya (the Sun) by drawing Maṇḍalas on the ground (......draviḍāḥ kanyā-meṣasthe savitary āditya-pūjām ācaranti bhūmau maṇḍalam ālikhya.........).

[8] See, for instance, Gautama-dharmasūtra 9. 13 (na vāyv-agni-vipr-ādity-āpo devatā gāś ca prati paśyan vā mūtra-puriṣ-āmedhyān vyudasyet) and 9. 14 (naitā devatāḥ prati pādau prasārayet). According to Haradatta and Maskari, the word 'devatāḥ', occurring in the former Sūtra, means images (pratimāḥ).

The separate use of the word 'devatāḥ' in the former Sūtra shows that the word 'āditya' meant the atmospheric sun and not any image of Āditya.

The word 'devatāḥ' in the latter Sūtra must have been intended for creating

"In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky. The human form of the Sun (came into vogue) for the good of all the worlds from the time it was made by Viśvakarman. ... ... No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses ; ... . The examination of the image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple." There was another strong ground for the wide popularity of the Magian method of Sun-worship. It was that the Magas allowed great privilege in religious matters to women and members of lower castes. However, the spread of Magian ideas was not, in all respects. very favourable to the Varṇāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas. As regards conception of Mithra and the procedure of his worship, the Magi priests differed much from the Sun-worshippers of India. Their manners and customs also were, to a great extent, different from those of the members of the Vedic fold. Hence, in order to modify the earlier cult of the Sun by incorporating Magian elements (which must have been too popular to be neglected), to establish the position of Magas as full-fledged Brahmins authorised to worship the Sun, and to conform the Magian ideas and practices to the Vedic notions, the Sāmba-p. had to be written and chapters had to be inserted into the Bhaviṣya and other Purāṇic works. What steps were taken to achieve these ends and how and when, will be evident from the following analysis of the Sāmba-p.

1. THE SĀMBA-PURĀṆA

This work,[9] as we have it in the Veṅkaṭ. edition, is divided into 84 chapters. It begins with a salutation to the Sun (variously named

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a sense of divinity with regard to wind, fire etc. and thus for pointing out their sacred character.

[9] The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1899. This edition has been accomplished so carelessly that innumerable mistakes, due to both omission and commission, have crept in. It is based most probably on a single Ms; otherwise, variants would have been given at some place or other of this edition. We have, however, used the

as Savitṛ, Bhāskara, Arka, Ravi, Āditya etc.) who is the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe and is the soul of Pitāmaha, Nārayaṇa and Śaṃkara, whose manifestations are the three Vedas, and who pervades the universe in the forms of Śakra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa, Samīraṇa (i. e. Vāyu), Dhanada and others who crowd the quarters. It then states that during a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiṣāraṇya Śaunaka asked Sūta, "Here, O Sūta, you have narrated

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materials of this Purāṇa with extreme caution. As large numbers of verses, nay even complete chapters, of the Sāmba-p. are found common with the Bhaviṣya-p. (Brāhma-parvan), Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), we have, in cases of doubt as regards the correctness of the readings of any of these verses, made a careful comparison before accepting any reading as authentic.

For Mss of the Sāmba-p. see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1316-18

[No. 3619.—This is a complete Ms consisting of 70 chapters. Its second introductory verse 'timira-kira-kirātaḥ etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. Though Eggeling's description of this Ms as well as a comparison of its concluding verses with those of the ASB and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss shows that the contents of this Ms are practically the same as those of the printed edition, chap. 55 of the printed edition does not seem to occur in this Ms. The difference in the numbers of chapters between this Ms and the printed edition is due to the fact that in a few cases single chapters of this Ms have each been split up into two or more in the printed edition. For instance,

chap. 1 of this Ms = chaps. 1-2 of the printed edition,
„ 48 „ „ = „ 49-52 „ „ „ ,
and so on.

The contents of this Ms after chap. 48 are divided into 22 sections which are neither numbered nor designated as Adhyāyas. Some of these sections are termed 'Paṭala.' These sections form practically a distinct part comprised under the general title 'Jñānottara'; and the last of these sections, which corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition, ends with a few verses which occur in the latter. These concluding verses agree with those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms (for which see below).

No. 3620.—This is practically the same as the preceding Ms.]

(2) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 750-7

[No. 4091.—This incomplete Ms, which agrees considerably with the Ind. Off. Ms mentioned above, lacks the second introductory verse 'timira-kira-kirātaḥ etc.' of the latter. It ends with chap. 81 and a part of chap. 82 of the printed edition. Thus, it lacks chaps. 83-84 and a part of chap. 82 of the latter.

No. 4092.—This Ms was copied in Śaka 1764. It consists of 75 chapters, to us, first of all, the old and much elaborate story of the six-faced [god Kārttikeya]; next [you have told us about] the Cosmic Egg (brahmāṇḍa), and also what was spoken by Vāyu and by Sāvarṇika, by Mārkaṇḍeya and by Vaiśampāyana, by Dadhīci and by Śarva (i.e. Śiva), by Hari, by the sages, and by the Bālakhilyas. And we have heard all these [from you] in company with the sages. But, O sage, you have not narrated what was done by the son of Hari (i.e. by Sāmba) ....The Purāṇa of Bhāskara (bhāskarasya purāṇam), which was enquired into by the wise Sāmba, is concerned with the twelfth form

of which the last corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition. In spite of this difference in the numbers of chapters, the contents of this Ms and the printed edition are practically the same. In this Ms, chaps. 52-74 have been grouped under a general title 'Jñānottara,' but this title does not occur in the colophon of chap. 75, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba.

No. 4093.—Though this Ms consists of 83 chapters and has a defective beginning, it is practically the same as the printed edition. Of the last six verses of the concluding chapter of this Ms, the first two and a half agree with verses 14-15 of chap. 84 of the printed edition, and the remaining ones are the same as the verses immediately preceding the two concluding verses of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. Like the other Mss and the printed edition, this Ms contains a latter part called 'Jñānottara', but in the colophon of its concluding chapter, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba, the word 'Jñānottara' does not occur,

No. 4094.—It deals with the praise of the Śāka-dvīpī Brahmins and claims to be the seventh chapter of the Sāmba-p. But in the printed edition the Śāka-dvīpī Brahmins are praised in chap. 26. Moreover, the opening verses of this Ms, as given by Shastri, do not agree with those of chap. 26 of the printed edition. So, we are not sure whether these two chapters are considerably the same.]

(3) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 122-3

[No. 214.—The introductory and the concluding verses of this Ms, as given in the Catalogue, show that the contents of this Ms also are practically the same as those of the printed edition. The two concluding verses of this Ms agree with those of the Ind. Off. Ms; and the three verses and a half, immediately preceding those two concluding verses, are found to occur at the end of an ASB Ms (Cat. No. 4093).]

(4) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, pp. 1000-1001.

(5) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338.

(6) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 193.

(7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7177-78, No. 10584.

of the Sun (? dvādaśākāra)……… O blessed one, please narrate this entire Purāṇa which is based on all scriptures".[10] Consequently, Sūta praised the Sāmba-p. over the Mahābhārata and all other Purāṇas and said that this Purāṇa would contain chapters dealing with the following matters.

Various old and interesting stories; essence of the Vedas and the Smṛtis given in connection with the duties of the different castes; [various kinds of worship of the Sun; how Nārada caused Kṛṣṇa to curse Sāmba; (the Sun's) foundation of a town by way of favouring Sāmba; measurement of Sūrya-maṇḍala; the paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe, and the eulogy of the Sun; Sāmba's joy, and his consecration of an image of the Sun; Sāmba's bringing of the Magas; praise of the Magas; method of the worship of the Sun;][11] the past, present and future; dissertation on *mantras*; description of the origin and destruction of the universe; sāṅgopāṅga-samāhāra; introduction of the rules about, and worship of, the Sun; the six acts, viz., vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana, vidveṣaṇa, and *stambhana*; characteristics of the Sun's image; rules about the construction of the house for the worship of the Sun; description of maṇḍalas (circles), and the performance of various kinds of yāga (viz., kriyā-yāga, siddhi-yāga, mahāmaṇḍala-yāga, etc.); means of attaining the proximity of the twelve-formed Sun; placing of the Sun on the lathe;[12] rules about flowers and incense; duties on the Saptamī Tithi; method of fasting; results of gifts; determination of proper time; method of performing the duties to the Sun; method of burning incense; directions regarding the study of scriptures (called '*jaya*'); description of dreams; penance; characteristics of spiritual preceptors; initiation, and selection of *mantras* for the initiated; and various eulogies.—(Chap. 1).

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[10] Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-14.

[11] After 1, 17a our printed edition omits the following five verses:—

śṛṇudhvaṃ munayaḥ sarve sāmbākhyaṃ pāpanāśanam/
purāṇaṃ sarva-rogaghnaṃ paraṃ kalyāṇa-dāyakam//
atra nānā-vidhā pūjā sūryasya ca mahātmanaḥ/
pituḥ śāpo hi sāmbasya nāradas tatra kāraṇam//
śāpānugrahataś caiva tathā pura-niveśanam/
maṇḍalasya pramāṇaṃ hi bhramer ārādhanaṃ tathā//
tejasāṃ śātanaṃ caiva sūrya-stavas tathaiva ca/
sāmbasya ca tadollāsaṃ pratimā-sthāpanaṃ tathā//
magānayanam atraiva maga-māhātmyam eva ca/
pūjā-vidhiṃ raver atra pūjāniṣṭhās tathaiva ca//

For these verses see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1317.

[12] The printed ed. reads 'bhūmer vā toṣaṇaṃ' (1. 21), but the Ind. Off. Ms reads 'bhramimānopanaṃ.' As Eggeling suggests, the original reading was

Sūta then said that once king Bṛhadbala, who was born in the race of Raghu, wanted to hear from his preceptor Vasiṣṭha about the eternal Brahma which caused cessation of rebirths, and put to him the following questions:—

(1) Which god should be worshipped by a member of any of the four āśramas who wishes to attain final release?

(2) How could he be sure of the attainment of heaven as well as the highest bliss?

(3) What should he do after passing to heaven, so that he may not lose it again?

(4) Who is the chief among the gods and Pitṛs?

(5) Whence did this universe originate, and where will it go after destruction?

In answer to these questions Vasiṣṭha praised the Sun as the only visible and eternal deity who is the highest among the gods and Pitṛs and is the only source of energy, who never moves from his fixed position, who manifests the universe from himself in creation and absorbs it into himself at the time of destruction, into whom the Yogins and the Sāṃkhyas enter after forsaking their bodies, and into whose region the kings like Janaka, the sages like the Bālakhilyas, Pañcaśikha and Śuka, and many members of different *varṇas* entered in times of yore by practising *yoga*, and who, therefore, is the only god deserving devotion and worship.—(Chap. 2). Bṛhadbala then wanted to know where the original place (ādyaṃ sthānaṃ) of worship of the Sun was situated on earth. Consequently, Vasiṣṭha said that out of affection for Sāmba and in order to favour the whole world the Sun permanently resided, in his twelfth form, viz.,

probably 'bhramim āropaṇaṃ' or 'bhramer āropaṇaṃ.' It is more probable that the reading was 'bhramāv āropaṇam.'

Mitra,[13] in the 'city called Sāmba' on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and thence favoured his worshippers by accepting their worship duly performed. At Bṛhadbala's request Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Sāmba in the following way.

Viṣṇu, one of the twelve sons of Aditi,[14] was born as Vāsudeva, and Sāmba was the son of this Vāsudeva. Once the irascible sage Nārada, who had access into all the regions of the universe, came with some sages to the city of Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva. Pradyumna and other young Yādavas received Nārada with proper respect, but Sāmba was so proud of his youth and physical beauty and was so much addicted to amorous sports that he neglected the sage. In order to teach Sāmba modesty, Nārada told Vāsudeva that all his 16000 wives were so much enamoured of Sāmba that they were always anxious to meet him. But Vāsudeva did not believe in Nārada's words. So, Nārada promised to convince Vāsudeva of the truth of his allegation, and went away. After a few days Nārada returned to Dvārakā and found Vāsudeva enjoying water-sports etc. in the pleasure-garden in Raivataka in company with his wives, who were coming under the influence of wine they were drinking. This was a great opportunity for Nārada. He went to Sāmba and told him that he was wanted by his father immediately. Sāmba hastened to Vāsudeva and stood before him. At the sight of Sāmba all of Vāsudeva's wives, except three, namely, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī, became extremely passionate. At this moment Nārada went there. As Vāsudeva's wives stood up to receive the sage, signs of their extreme passion became prominent on their dress. Vāsudeva understood their mental condition and cursed them all, except the above-mentioned three, to be unable to pass to the region of their husband after his death and to be forcibly carried away by robbers. (Here the Purāṇa states that after Vāsudeva's death, his wives were carried away by some 'thieves of the land of five rivers' even before the eyes of Arjuna). Vāsudeva did not spare Sāmba but cursed him to become an ugly leper. Sāmba immediately became so, and Nārada went away. (Here the Purāṇa informs us that 'later on, being impelled by destiny and by the recollection of the previous event, Sāmba enraged the sage Durvāsas again in the same way and had his family exterminated by a *musala* born as a result of the sage's curse').[15]—(Chap. 3). Being thus cursed by his father, Sāmba pleaded innocent, and Kṛṣṇa advised Sāmba to take recourse to Nārada for remedy. In accordance with this advice Sāmba met Nārada at Dvāravatī when the latter came there to see 'Viṣṇu' (i. e. Vāsudeva) on another occasion, and requested him to name the highest deity who deserved adoration of all gods and to whom he could take recourse for getting rid of the curse. Nārada described his visit to the Sūrya-loka (Solar region), where he found the Sun attended by the gods, Yakṣas Gandharvas, Apsarases etc., by the three Vedas incarnate, by the sages who were reciting the Vedic hymns of praise, by the three Saṃdhyās incarnate, Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts and Aśvins, by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, by the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nikṣubhā who remained at his sides, by Piṅgala, the recorder of good and bad deeds of creatures,[16] by Daṇḍa-nāyaka, by Rājña[17] and Stoṣa,[18] by Kalmāṣa (i. e. Yama) and Pakṣin (i. e. Garuḍa) who were stationed at the gate, by the four-horned (or four-peaked—catuḥ-śṛṅga) god Vyoman who resembled the Meru, and by the naked Diṇḍi.[19] He spoke on the greatness of the Sun and advised Sāmba to take recourse to this deity who pervaded the universe and was eulogised by Brahmā and other gods.—(Chap. 6). Consequently, Sāmba started, with his father's permission, from the northern shore of the sea (?),[20] reached the 'great river (mahānadī)

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[13] Sāmba-p. 3. 3 reads:—

prītyā sāmbasya tatrārko jagato 'nugrahāya ca/
sthito dvādaśa-bhāgena mitro maitreṇa cakṣuṣā//

In Sāmba-p. 4.6 Mitra is mentioned as the last of the twelve Ādityas.

[14] Sāmba-p. 3.6 reads:—

aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇur yaḥ sa punas tv iha/
vāsudevatvam āpannas tasya sāmbo 'bhavat sutaḥ//

In this verse Viṣṇu is called the twelfth son of Aditi; but in none of the two lists of the names of the twelve Ādityas given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 4 (verse 6) and 9 (verses 3b-4) Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. Moreover, in the lines corresponding to Sāmba-p. 3. 6 the Bhaviṣya-p. does not mention Viṣṇu as the twelfth Āditya. These lines of the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72. 10-11) are as follows:—

ya ete dvādaśādityā virājante mahābalāḥ/
teṣāṃ yo viṣṇu-saṃjñas tu sarva-lokeṣu viśrutaḥ/
tasmāt sāmbaḥ suto jajñe etc.

So, the present text of Sāmba-p. 3. 6 (aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇuḥ etc.) must be due to a revision made according to the list of the names of the twelve Ādityas as given in Samba-p. 51 (verses 66-67 and 162-170) in which Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. We shall see hereafter that chap. 51 of the Samba-p. was a later addition.

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[15] Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53—

sāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
prāptavān sumahacchāpaṃ sāmbo vai manujottamaḥ/
tac-chāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya pātitam//

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[16] Sāmba-p. 6. 21b reads 'piṅgalo devakaḥ,' but in the corresponding line the Bhavisya-p. (I. 76. 13) reads 'piṅgalo lekhakaḥ.' That the reading of the Bhaviṣya-p. is the correct one is evidenced by Sāmba-p. 16. 6b-7a, in which Piṅgala is described as being engaged by the Sun in recording the good and bad deeds of all beings. See also Sāmba-p. 7. 2 for the same function of Piṅgala.

In Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 5-7 also Piṅgala is described as 'atipiṅgala,' 'uddīpta-veśa,' 'lekhanī-patra-kara' and 'carma-śūla-dhara.'

[17-18] In Bhav. I. 76. 13b and 18, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 6. 22a and 7. 3a respectively, these two names are given as Rājā and Śroṣa. But in Bhav. I. 124. 13 and 22-24a these names occur as Rājña and Srauṣa, the latter name being said to have been derived from the root 'sru' used in the sense of motion. See also Bhav. I. 143. 40a in which the names are given as Rājña and Srauṣa. Bhav. I. 130. 52b wrongly gives the former name as 'Rājñā.'

Sāmba-p. 36. 39 gives the names as 'Rājan' and 'Toṣa.'

In the Avesta Rashnu ('justice') and Sraosha ('obedience') have been mentioned as divine beings and companions of Mithra.

[19] In the Sāmba-p. (6. 23, 7. 4, and 16. 25) Diṇḍi is described as 'naked' (nagnaḥ, nagnakaḥ); but in Bhav. I. 76. 14 and 19 and I. 124. 1, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 6. 23 (diṇḍir nagno 'gratas tasya), 7. 4 (ko diṇḍir nagnako yaś ca etc.), and 16. 25 (.......... saṃtiṣṭhati yas tu nagnaḥ......) the words 'tathā', 'agrataḥ' and 'magnaḥ' are found in place of 'nagnaḥ' and 'nagnakaḥ' of the Sāmba-p.

On the other hand, in Bhav. I. 124. 3 and 7 (=Sāmba-p. 16. 26 and 31 respectively) Rudra is described as naked (nagna).

[20] The text of Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6 runs as follows:—

anujñātaḥ sa kṛṣṇena sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ/,
jñātvā saṃtārayāmāsa candrabhāgāṃ mahānadīm//
tato mitravanaṃ gatvā tīrthaṃ trailokya-viśrutam/,
upavāsa-kṛśaḥ sāmbaḥ kṛśo dhamani-saṃtataḥ//.

These verses are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7. The Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'gatvā' for 'jñātvā,' and 'upavāsa-paraḥ' for 'upavāsa-kṛśaḥ.'

Candrabhāgā', thence went to the famous holy place Mitravana, emaciated his body there with fasts, and eulogised the Sun, who lived in the solar orb as an extremely effulgent Puruṣa, comprised all gods and the universe, was the same as the Paramātman, and was able to cure all kinds of skin diseases and physical defects. The Sun was pleased to confer devotion on Sāmba and to cure his leprosy. He asked Sāmba to establish an image of the Sun on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, and granted a boon that the town, thus created, would be known after Sāmba, and promised to appear daily to Sāmba in dream.—(Chap. 24). Now, once, after attaining his former physical beauty, Sāmba went, as usual, to have his bath in the Candrabhāgā which was 'not very far' from his hermitage and found that an image of the Sun was being carried by the current with its face turned upwards. Sāmba brought this image to his hermitage, established it in a part of Mitravana, and asked it by whom it was constructed. The image related its history in the following way. When, in times of yore, the Sun's brightness became unbearable to all creatures, he was requested by the gods to make himself endurable. Consequently, at his command Viśvakarman mended his form by placing him on a lathe in Śāka-dvīpa. Afterwards Viśvakarman made this image with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, took it to the Himalayas, and sent it down the Candrabhāgā for the sake of Sāmba. The image assured Sāmba that the Sun would always remain present at that place. On hearing this from the image and seeing the Sun with his own eyes, Sāmba built a temple (deva-gṛha) for the image and approached Nārada for his advice regarding the selection of the best Brahmin priests for its worship. Nārada decried the Devalaka Brahmins of Jambu-dvīpa, because they lived on the property of the images they worshipped, denounced the Mānava Śāstra (the Code of Manu),[21] and were degraded (patita) and excommunicated (apāṅkteya). He advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun for the purpose. Sāmba did so; and the Sun was pleased to advise him to bring the Magas from Śāka-dvīpa which was situated on the other side of the salt-ocean and was encircled by the ocean of milk, and where the people were divided into four castes, viz., Maga, Māmaga, Mānasa and Mandaga[22] corresponding respectively to the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras of Jambu-dvīpa but having no mixed caste among them. The people of Śāka-dvīpa, who were born of the Sun's energy (tejas) and to whom the four Vedas were given by the Sun, worshipped the Sun by citing Vedic hymns and wore Avyaṅgas.[23] The image added that the Sun was worshipped as Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa, as Maheśvara in Kuśa-dvīpa, as Brahmā in Puṣkara-dvīpa, and as Bhāskara in Śāka-dvīpa. Being thus advised by the image Sāmba saw his father at Dvāravatī, mounted Garuḍa and went to Śāka-dvīpa, whence he brought to Mitravana on the bank of the Candrabhāgā eighteen families of Magas, who worshipped the Sun and performed *śānti-homas* for the people.—(Chap. 26).

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[21] Cf. Sāmba-p. 26. 23b—garhitaṃ mānavaṃ śāstraṃ na praśaṃsanti te dvijāḥ. This line does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p. It is highly probable that in this line the original reading for 'garhitaṃ' was 'garhanti.'

[22] Sāmba-p. 26. 30-31.

The text of these verses, as given by Nagendra Nath Vasu in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9, has 'Masaga' for 'Māmaga.'

In Bhav. (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I. 139. 74-75 the names of these four castes of Śāka-dvīpa are given as Maga, Magaga, Gānaga (or Mānasa) and Mandaga. These verses, as quoted by Nagendra Nath Vasu (in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9), give the names as Maga, Masaga, Mānasa and Mandaga (or Mandaśa); while according to Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. the names are Maga, Magasa, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Bod. Cat., p. 33).

Mahābhārata VI (Bhīṣma-parvan). 11. 36-38 have the names as Maga (or Maṅga), Maśaka, Mānasa and Mandaga; Viṣṇu-p. II. 4. 69-70 have them as Mṛga (but 'Maga' in some Mss), Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga; and the Brahma-p., which incorporates many of the chapters of the Viṣṇu-p. including chap. 4 of Viṣṇu-p. II, gives the names as Maga, Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Brahma-p. 20. 71).

One of the Mss of the Sāmba-p. described by Haraprasad Shastri has Maga, Māgasa, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 753, No. 4092).

Greek historians, such as Herodotus and Strabo, mention the warlike Massagetae as living in Sakitai with other clans. So, the Massagetae seem to be the same as the 'Masaga' or 'Maśaka' Kṣatriyas of Śāka-dvīpa.

[23] Avyaṅga is a girdle originally worn by the Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghen.

The Sun's girdle is called 'aviyāṅga' in Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 3b (kartavyā raśanā cāsya yāviyāṅgeti saṃjñitā).

The above-mentioned story of Sāmba's establishing an image of the Sun at Sāmbapura in Mitravana and his settling of eighteen families of Magi priests from Śāka-dvīpa for the regular worship of this image forms the nucleus of the Sāmba-p., and in connection with this main story, a few subsidiary stories of interest have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the glorification of the Sun. For instance, there are the stories of Saṃjñā's penance in the Northern Kuru country and of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe. Of these, the former is narrated in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11 as follows.

Brahmā's son Marīci had a son named Kaśyapa and a daughter named Surūpā. Kaśyapa's son (on Diti) was Hiraṇyakaśipu, whose son was Prahlāda. Prahlāda had a son named Virocana and a daughter named Prāhlādī. This Prāhlādī was married to Viśvakarman, who was the son of Bhuvanī, daughter of Surūpā. The Sun's wife Rājñī, who is said to be the same as Dyauḥ, was born to Prāhlādī under the name of Saṃjñā or Sareṇu.[24] The Sun took a human form in order to have physical union with Saṃjñā,[25] and begot on her two sons, namely Vaivasvata Manu and Yama Śrāddha-deva, and a daughter named Yamī or Kālindī. Now, Saṃjñā could no longer stand the heat and brilliance of the Sun. She secretly created from her own body a female named Chāyā (called to be the same as Nikṣubhā, who, again, is identified with Pṛthivī), requested her to attend the Sun and look after Manu, Yama and Yamī, and went to her father's house. She lived there for one thousand years; and, being repeatedly asked by her father to return to her husband, she took the form of a mare and went to the Northern Kuru country. During Saṃjñā's absence Chāyā, who resembled Saṃjñā fully, attended the Sun as his wife and gave birth to two sons named Śrutaśravas and Śrutakarman (of whom the former was destined to be known as Sāvarṇi Manu and the latter became the planet Śanaiścara later on) and a daughter named Tapatī. Now, Chāyā was so partial to her own children that Yama could not tolerate it. Once he threatened Chāyā with his foot (pādena saṃtarjayāmāsa) and was cursed by her that his foot would fall down without fail. Being afflicted in mind Yama approached the Sun with Manu and informed him of the whole matter. The Sun first minimised the severity of the curse by ordaining that worms would fall to the ground after taking flesh from his feet, and then asked Chāyā the cause of her differential treatment towards the children. But as Chāyā remained silent, the Sun understood the whole situation through meditation and was about to curse Chāyā, when the latter related the whole mattter to the Sun. Being thus informed of the whole situation, the Sun approached his father-in-law Viśvakarman in rage; but the latter told him that being unable to bear the extreme brightness of his form, Saṃjñā went to a grassy wood in the Northern Kuru country and was practising severe penance there for an endurable figure of the Sun (cf. rūpārthaṃ bhavato 'raṇye carantī sumahat tapaḥ). Viśvakarman then intimated to the Sun that he was ready to act up to Brahmā's proposal of paring the Sun's figure, only if the latter gave his consent. The sun agreed to it gladly and had his rays cut down by means of a lathe. The Sun then met Saṃjñā in the Northern Kuru country in the form of a horse and had physical union with her. As a result of this union, the two Aśvins, named Nāsatya and Dasra, were born. The Sun had another son born of the earth. This son, who was named Raivata (or Revanta),[26] had the body of a horse and was armed with a bow and arrows. Yama ruled over the creation with justice and became Dharmarāja; Manu became a ruler and the progenitor of the line of Ikṣvāku; Yamī was transformed into the river Yamunā; Sāvatṇi Manu was destined to become a ruler in future; Śanaiścara became a planet ; Tapatī, who became the wife of king Saṃvaraṇa, was turned into a river of the same name in the Vindhya mountain; the Aśvins became the divine physicians; and Revanta became a noble and sanctifying deity easy to please.

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[24] Sāmba-p. 10. 17b (sareṇur iti vikhyātā etc.). This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 79. 17b) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 65b), reads 'sureṇuḥ' for 'sareṇuḥ'.

[25] Sāmba-p. 10. 19c reads 'rantuṃ vai nara-rūpeṇa sūryo bhavati vai purā.' This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya (I. 79. 20a) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 79a), reads 'na tu tāṃ nara-rūpeṇa sūryo ('bhāryāṃ' according to the Skanda-p.) bhajati vai purā.'

The text of this line, as given by the Sāmba-p., is obviously wrong. Cf. Sāmba-p. 11. 4b-5a (golākāraṃ tu tadrūpaṃ dṛṣṭvā saṃjñā vivasvataḥ/asahantī tu tat tejaḥ svāṃ chāyāṃ preṣya cābravīt//).

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[26] The name is given as 'Raivata' and 'Revanta' in the Sāmba-p., but in the Bhaviṣya-p. it is given as 'Raivata', 'Revata' and 'Revanta' (see Bhav. I. 79, verses 59, 63, 79; I. 124. 31). In Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 9 the name is given as 'Revanta.'

The story of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe is briefly this : —

As Saṃjñā went to her father's house and then practised austerities (in the Northern Kuru country), the Sun became favourably inclined towards her and intended to fulfil her desires. In the meantime Brahmā, being requested by the sages to save the creation from the trouble caused by the burning rays of the Sun, approached the Sun with other gods and Prajāpatis and asked him to have his figure carved out by Viśvakarman. At Brahmā's request Viśvakarman placed the Sun, with the latter's consent, on a lathe and pared his rays up to the knees. While the Sun's body was thus being cut out 'for the creation of the seasons of frost, heat and water', Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Indra, Viśvakarman and other gods, as well as the sages (viz., Bālakhilyas, Viśvāmitra and others), Vidyādharas, Nāgas etc. eulogised the Sun, and the Gandharvas (well versed in the three grāmas, viz., *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*) and Apsarases etc. honoured the Sun with songs, dances and musical concerts. With the rays thus mopped off Viśvakarman made a disc for Viṣṇu and various missiles for other gods. The Purāṇa adds that as the Sun's rays were pared up to his knees, his feet are always kept under a cover.—(Chaps. 12-15).

Another story may be mentioned here.

Once Brahmā and other gods found out that it was only through the boons of the compassionate Sun that the demons became powerful enough to trouble the gods. So, they decided to be devoted to the Sun and to surrround him in such a way that the demons might not see him. Accordingly, Indra stood, under the name of Daṇḍanāyaka,[27] on the left side of the Sun and was engaged by the latter to rule over the world with his daṇḍa (sceptre) and nīti (science of politics); Agni, who took his stand on the right side of the Sun, was known as Piṅgala due to his tawny colour and was engaged in recording the good and bad deeds of all creatures; the two Aśvins stood on two sides of the Sun; Kārttikeya and Hara stood 'at the eastern gate' under the names of Rājña and Stoṣa respectively[28] ; Yama and Garuḍa assumed the names of Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin respectively (because the former was kalmāṣa i.e. variegated, and the latter had wings) and stood, with two asses,[29] at the gate, which was thus rendered inaccessible ; on the south, stood Citragupta (the officer of Yama) and Kāla under the names of Jāndakāra and Māṭhara[30] respectively ; on the west, stood Varuṇa and Sāgara under the names of Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa[31] respectively; on the north, stood Kuvera and Vināyaka, the latter having the form of an elephant; and on the east, stood Revanta, and Rudra under the name of Diṇḍi. Thus the Sun's attendants were 'eighteen in number'. In order to prevent the demons these attendants as well as the Vedic hymns assumed various forms and surrounded the Sun with missiles in their hands.—(Sāmba-p. 16. 1-24).

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[27] Daṇḍanāyaka is named as Daṇḍin in Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 5.

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[28] Sāmba-p. 16. 8a reads 'pūrva-dvāre sthitau tasya rājña-stoṣau mahābalau' ; but in the corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'dvāra-pālau sthitau tasya rājñaḥ śreṣṭhau mahābalau' (see Bhav. I. 124. 21a), there being no mention of 'pūrva-dvāra.' The reading 'rājñaḥ śreṣṭhau' of the Bhaviṣya-p. is obviously wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 124. 22-24 where the derivative meanings of 'Rājña' and 'Stoṣa' (and not 'śreṣṭha') are given. See also Bhav. I. 130. 52b.

[29] Sāmba-p. 16. 11a reads 'kharaṃ hi duratikrāntaṃ kṛtvā dvāraṃ vyavasthitau,' but Sāmba-p. 16. 21a reads 'sakharadvārikau jñeyau rājña-stoṣau tataḥ sthitau.' With whomsoever the '*khara*' (ass) may be connected, it is clear that the asses were there.

The Bhaviṣya-p. has these two lines as follows:—'dvitīyāyāṃ tu kakṣāyām apradhṛṣṭau vyavasthitau' and 'tau sūrya-dvārapau jñeyau rājña-srauṣau tataḥ smṛtau' (see Bhav. I. 124. 25b and 35b).

[30] The name 'Māṭhara', which may have been derived from the Avestan Māthra, is found in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 53. 1), but the name 'Jāndakāra,' which also seems to have an Avestan origin, does not occur in the Bhaviṣya.

[31] These two names are given respectively as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Kṣatāya' in Sāmba-p. 16. 16a, as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Kṣutāpa' in Sāmba-p. 16. 16b and 20a, and as 'Prāpnuyān' and 'Nukṣutāya' in Sāmba-p. 29. 20a.

The Bhaviṣya-p. does not contain these names.

In Sāmba-p. 16 (verses 25-35) and 17, the story of Diṇḍi is narrated as follows:—

After tearing away Brahmā's head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Dāruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages residing there became agitated. So, the sages drove Rudra away from that place. Rudra thence went to the Solar region, where the Sun's chief attendants advised him to take recourse to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra did so and eulogised the Sun, the result being that he became purified and was given the name 'Diṇḍi'. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a highly sacred place on earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others. The Sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of Avimukta-kṣetra to the place where Rudra practised austerities for attaining the Sun's favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow down to Rudra and the Sun at that place having the measurement of a krośa, would become sinless.

Besides these stories, there are also others which are no less interesting and important than those already mentioned. For instance, in chaps. 42-43 the story of the establishment of the Sun's image in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean is given as follows:—

'After Sāmba had brought the Yājakas and had a temple constructed for the Sun', the gods, sages, Siddhas, men and others heard of 'Mitravana' (Mitra's forest) and at once came to this 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and was made by Viśvakarman. Being thanked by Nārada for enabling him to see the Sun's 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was furnished with an eternal image of this god, Sāmba approached the Sun and was advised by the latter not to be proud of his glorious deed. Moreover, the Sun narrated the story that in ancient times some sages performed austerities there for many centuries, became the creators of this place through the Sun's favour, and thereby attained great fame for a Manvantara. Now, once the sages, Siddhas, Gandharvas and others, who lived in the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana, also called Sūrya-kānana) situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and worshipped him in various ways, stood in wait for his rise, eulogising him all the while. At dawn they were surprised to see that the Sun made the ocean, the sky and the earth red by means of his rays and appeared simultaneously in the sky and in the ocean. There was yet another form of the Sun which remained in water. Manus recovered it by entering the ocean, placed it in the 'tapovana', and cited hymns in its praise. On Manus' enquiry as to who constructed it and how it came to that place the image replied that after being constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods for the good of the world, it was placed on the Kalpavṛkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it passed successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa, Śātadrava, Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagaṅgā[32] until it reached the salt-ocean. The image also asked Manus to establish itself. Consequently, Vaivasvata Manu had a temple built for it, and the gods eulogised it, named it as Muṇḍita and Muṇḍīra after being initiated by it to Sun-worship, and established the Sun in three (?) different places.[33]

In chap. 45 the story of the origin of shoes and umbrellas is narrated thus :—

Once Jamadagni began to shoot arrows playfully, and his wife Reṇukā was engaged in collecting them. When, at mid day, the earth became extremely hot due to the burning rays of the Sun, Reṇukā delayed in fetching the arrows thrown by Jamadagni. Understanding Reṇukā's difficulties Jamadagni became so angry with the Sun that the latter appeared before the former in the form of a Brahmin and appeased him by handing over a pair of shoes and an umbrella for Reṇukā's use.

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[32] The reading 'modagaṅgā-mahānadau' in Sāmba-p. 43. 32b (bhāgīrathīto vijñeyā modagaṅgā-mahānadau) is obviously wrong. It should be 'modagaṅgā mahānadī.' Cf. the adjective 'vijñeyā' and also the line 'tasmād vai modagaṅgāyāḥ praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhim' (Sāmba-p. 43. 33b) which shows that from the Modagaṅgā the Sun's image did not pass into any other river before entering the sea.

It is needless to repeat that the present edition of the Sāmba-p. is full of mistakes.

[33] Cf. sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ.—Sāmba-p. 43. 36b.

In addition to the above-mentioned stories, the following topics have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the effective glorification of the Sun:—

The Sun's creation of Prajāpatis and various kinds of creatures in the form and capacity of Brahmā, and his division of himself into twelve parts and birth from Aditi as twelve Ādityas, viz., Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra, of whom Indra ruled over the gods, Dhātṛ became a Prajāpati and created beings, Parjanya remained in clouds, Pūṣan resided in food and nourished the created beings, Tvaṣṭṛ remained in trees, plants and herbs, Aryaman resided in the bodies of animals for facilitating the movement of air, Bhaga remained in the earth as well as in bodies, Vivasvat dwelt in fire and helped digestion, Viṣṇu, the ninth form of Citrabhānu,[34] became the slayer of the enemies of gods, Aṃśumān resided in air and gladdened the creatures, Varuṇa resided in water contained in the sea and enlivened the whole world which depends on water, and Mitra, the twelfth from of the Sun (Bhānu), resided on the bank of the Candrasarit for the good of the world, performed austerities there by living on air, and favoured his devotees with boons, this original place of Mitra's residence being known as Mitravana, which was later on developed into a town by Sāmba (paścāt sāmbena nirmitam). —(Chap. 4). The origin of the visible Sun, with its shooting rays, from the Egg brought forth by Aditi; the dimension of the Sun; the names and functions of its rays in general; the names and functions of its seven principal rays and their connection with the stars and planets, which are said to have originated from the Sun; and the way in which the Sun fills the universe with its rays. —(Chap. 7). The Sun as the original source and the main stay of the universe; the absolute necessity of the Sun for the measurement of time, the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and the growth of the vegetable world; and the different auspicious colours of the Sun during the different seasons. —(Chap. 8). The twelve common names of the Sun (viz., Āditya, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mihira, Arka, Prabhākara, Mārtaṇḍa, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhānu, Divākara and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa, Aryaman,[35] Vivasvat, Aṃśumat, Tvaṣṭṛ and Parjanya), the the different months in which these twelve Ādityas shine, and the numbers of their rays. —(Chap. 9). The evolution of the universe according to the principles of the Sāṃkhya system, and the appearance of the Supreme Being (īśvaraṃ param) as a luminary (called Savitṛ) at the prayer of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and others who were all confused by darkness. —(Chap. 14). The origin of Vyoman (which is called 'sarva-devamaya', 'sarva-bhūtamaya' and 'sarva-śrutimaya' and whose worship is said to be equivalent to the worship of all gods) from the space of the Cosmic Egg and of the four-peaked Meru, which, like the pericarp of a lotus, formed the centre of the earth, round which the Sun moved in his chariot, and which was resorted to by the thirty-three sacrificing gods (viz., eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, and two Aśvins, whose names also are given); the names of the fourteen Manus, the fourteen Indras and the Viśvedevas living during the reigns of these Manus, the seven Maruts (from whom forty-nine Maruts arose), the three Fires (whose sons and grandsons were forty in number), the different kinds of years, the nine planets (with the mention of their nature, their origin, their relative position, their dimensions, and their distance from the earth),[36] the seven

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[34] The text reads 'Mitrabhānu' (Sāmba-p. 4. 16a). But this reading is erroneous. Cf. Sāmba-p. 9. 2 and Bhaviṣya-p. I. 74. 18a and 78. 55a (corresponding to Sāmba-p. 4. 16a and 9. 2 respectively), in which 'Citrabhānu' is given as a name for the Sun.

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[35] Sāmba-p. 9. 3b wrongly reads 'varuṇo yamaḥ' for 'varuṇo 'ryamā.' In its corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 78. 56a) has the latter reading. See also Sāmba-p. 9. 5b and 9a for the name 'Aryaman.'

[36] The names of the nine planets are the following:—Āditya, Soma, Lohitāṅga, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śanaiścara, Rāhu and Dhūmaketu. Of these, Āditya and Soma are called maṇḍala-graha, Rāhu is called chāyā-graha, and the rest tārā-graha. Soma is chief of the nakṣatras (nakṣatrādhipati), and the Sun is graha-rāja. Among the planets the Sun occupies the lowest position (sarveṣāṃ tu grahāṇāṃ vai hy adhastāc carate raviḥ—18. 48b), and above it the other planets and the different maṇḍalas are situated, one above the other, in the following order:—Soma, (nakṣatra-maṇḍala), Budha, Bhārgava, Aṅgāraka, Bṛhaspati, Śanaiścara, (ṛṣi-maṇḍala), and (Dhruva); Rāhu moves mostly in the Āditya-maṇḍala but sometimes traverses the path of Soma (āditya-nilaye rāhuḥ kadācit soma-mārgagaḥ—18. 51b); and Ketu always remains in the Sūrya-maṇḍala. The

lokas (viz., *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*, *mahaḥ* etc., which are said to be contained in Vyoman), and the eight classes of demi-gods.—(Chap. 18.). Geography of the earth (its seven *dvīpas*, the seven oceans, the *varṣa* mountains, etc.), the names of the fourteen *lokas*, the measurement of the mountain Meru (which is said to be golden and to be situated at the centre of the earth), and the names[37] and description of its four peaks.—(Chap. 19). The towns surrounding the Meru[38]; the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru; and the names of the different gods who worshipped the Sun at different times.—(Chap. 20). Description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, of which the different divisions of time were the component parts, and which was drawn by the seven metres (viz., Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh, Paṅkti, Bṛhatī and Uṣṇij) in the forms of seven horses and was attended by the gods, Ādityas, sages, Gandharvas, Apsarases, snakes, Rākṣasas etc.; the names of those gods, Ādityas, and others who, with their followers, attended the Sun's chariot in the different seasons of the year (the spring season consisting of Caitra and Vaiśākha); and the way in which the Sun nourished

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dimension (vistāra) of the Sun is 9000 *yojanas*, and the measurement of its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension (vistāra) of the Moon is twice that of the Sun, and its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension of Bhārgava (i.e. Śukra) is one sixteenth of that of the Moon, the dimension of Bṛhaspati is less by one fourth than that of Bhārgava; the dimension of Kuja (i.e. Maṅgala) is less by one fourth than that of Bṛhaspati; and the dimension of Budha is less by one fourth than that of Kuja. The ṛkṣas (stars) have generally the same dimension as that of Budha, and there is no star having a dimension less than half a *yojana*. Rāhu is equal in dimension to the Sun, but the expanse of Ketu is not fixed (aniyataḥ).—Sāmba-p. 18. 41ff.

It should be noted here that Sāmba-p., chap. 18 has many verses in common with Devī-p., chaps. 46 and 47.

[37] The names of the four peaks of the Meru are the following:—Saumanasa (which is golden), Jyotiṣka (which has the colour of rubies), Citra (which abounds in all kinds of metals), and Cāndramasa (which is white and silvery).—Sāmba-p. 19. 20ff.

[38] Amarāvatī (capital of Indra) was situated on the east of the Meru, Yamanī (the city of Yama) on its south, Sukhā (the city of Varuṇa) on its west, and Vibhāvatī (the city of Soma) on its north.—Sāmba-p. 20. 21ff.

the gods and Pitṛs with nectar communicated through the moon developed by his ray called Suṣumnā, and men and other creatures by means of water drawn up with his rays and poured down as rain.—(Chap. 21). Consumption of fifteen digits of the moon by the gods and Pitṛs during the dark half of the month; the moon's entrance, with its sixteenth digit, into the Sun in the morning, into trees and planets at mid-day, and into water in the evening during the new-moon day, and its nourishment by the Sun during the bright half of the month; the names of two kinds of Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā; and the names of the gods who consume fourteen digits of the moon during the dark half of the month.—(Chap. 22), Description of solar eclipse, in which the Sun is not really eaten up by Rāhu (who is described as 'tamomaya'), but the fact is that when on a new-moon day (amāvāsyā) Rāhu approaches the Sun for having his share of nectar from the moon which enters the Sun on that day, he covers the Sun as well as the moon which intervenes between the Sun and Rāhu;[39] description of lunar eclipse, during which Rāhu approaches the moon on the full-moon day (pūrṇimā) with the same purpose and covers it with the shadow of the earth.—(Chap. 23). Description of the Magas as those who used to meditate on the syllable 'म', and of the Yājakas as those who worshipped the Sun by burning incense, offering garlands and various other articles, and muttering *mantras*, the aim of the Magas and the Yājakas being the attainment of final emancipation (mokṣa) through service (karma-yoga) to the Sun who resides in the phenomenal Sun and is both 'sakala' and 'niṣkala'.—(Chap. 27). Acquirement of jñāna through the practice of *yoga* (which consists of prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, pratyāhāra and dhyāna); attainment of Sūrya-maṇḍala (solar region) through *yoga* by those who are given to Traividya-siddhānta as well as by those who are versed in Sūrya-siddhānta (also called Āditya-siddhānta).—(Chap. 28). Characteristics of the Sun's images.[40] Construction of Sun-temples, in connection with which the following topics have been dealt with:—selection and preparation of the site for the temple; placing of the Sun's image with its face turned very often towards the east and in rare cases towards the west; position of the snāna-gṛha and the agnihotra-gṛha; and position of Śambhu and Mātṛs, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Nikṣubhā, Rājñī, Piṅgala, Daṇḍanāyaka, Śrī and Mahāśvetā (i.e. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī respectively), the Aśvins, Rājña and Stoṣa, Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin, Jāndaka and Māṭhara, Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa,[41] Kuvera and Soma, Revanta and Vināyaka, Vyoman, and Diṇḍi.[42] Drawing

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[39] Cf. 'ataś chādayate rāhur abhravac chaśi-bhāskarau' (Sāmba-p. 23. 33a), and 'adho rāhuḥ paraḥ somaḥ somād ūrdhvaṃ divākaraḥ' (Sāmba-p. 23. 32a).

[40] It has already been noted that in connection with the description of the characteristics of the Sun's images the Sāmba-p. (29. 2-3a, 5b and 6b) says, "In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a

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circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky......No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses;............the examination of an image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple."

[41] Though Sāmba-p. 29. 20a reads 'prāpnuyānnukṣutāyau', the names are Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa.—See footnote 31 above.

[42] The text of Sāmba-p. 29. 13b-24b (on the position of the Sun's attendants) is as follows:—

nityaṃ prāṅmukham arkasya kadācit paścimāmukham/
sthāpanīyaṃ gṛhe samyak prāṅmukhe sthāna-kalpanā//
bhavanād dakṣiṇe pārśve raveḥ snāna-gṛhaṃ smṛtam/
agnihotra-gṛhaṃ kāryaṃ raver uttarataḥ śubham//
udaṅmukhaṃ bhavec chambhor mātṛṝṇāṃ ca gṛhottamam/
brahmā paścimataḥ sthāpyo viṣṇur uttaratas tathā//
nikṣubhā dakṣiṇe pārśve rave rājñī tu vāmataḥ/
piṅgalo dakṣiṇe bhānor vāmato daṇḍanāyakaḥ//
śrī-mahāśvetayoḥ sthānaṃ purastād aṃśumālinaḥ/
tataś ca aśvinau dvāri pūjā-karma-gṛhād bahiḥ//
dvitīyāyāṃ tu kakṣāyāṃ rājña-stoṣau vyavasthitau/
tṛtīyāyāṃ tu kakṣāyāṃ sthitau kalmāṣa-pakṣiṇau//
jāndako māṭharaḥ sthāpyo dakṣiṇāṃ diśam āsthitau/
prāpnuyān-nukṣutāyau tu paścimāṃ diśam āsthitau//
udicyāṃ sthāpanīyas tu kuveraḥ soma eva ca/
uttareṇaiva tābhyāṃ tu revantaḥ savināyakaḥ//
yad raver vidyate sthānaṃ caturdikṣu tu tatra vā/
arghāya maṇḍale dve vai kārye savyāpasavyataḥ//
dadyād udaya-velāyām arghaṃ sūryāya dakṣiṇe/
uttare maṇḍale dadyād argham astaṃ gate ravau//
caturasraṃ catuḥ-śṛṅgaṃ vyoma deva-gṛhāgrataḥ/
pratimā-pāda-sūtreṇa kāryaṃ madhyasya maṇḍalam//
diṇḍiḥ sthāpyaḥ puras tasmād ādityābhimukhas tathā//

of three circles (maṇḍala) for the offer of materials of worship at Sunrise, at mid-day and at Sun-set.—(Chap. 29). Seven kinds of images (so far as their materials are concerned), viz., kāñcanī (made of gold), rājatī (made of silver), tāmrī (made of copper), pārthivī (earthen), śailajā (made of stone), vārkṣī (wooden) and ālekhyā (painted) ; directions about the construction of wooden images (viz., selection of trees for the construction of images; time and method of worship of the trees selected; method of cutting down the trees; effects of the fall of the trees in particular directions; heights and measurements of the different limbs of the images ; dresses of the images, viz., avyaṅga, *pada-bandha* etc. ; and so on).—(Chaps. 30-31). Method of consecration (of the Sun's image), which is free from Tantric elements and in which Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras* only are to be used.—(Chap. 32). Directions about the making of flags and flag-staffs for different deities (viz., Viṣṇu, Īśvara i.e. Śiva, Brahmā, Ravi, Jalādhipa i.e. Varuṇa, Dhanada, Kārttikeya, Heramba i. e. Gaṇeśa, Devarāja, Yama and

The important variations in readings in these lines as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 130, 47b-56 and 59-60a) are the following:—

'saṃmukhaṃ' (for 'prāṅmukhaṃ' in line 1); 'sthāpanīyaṃ gṛhaṃ samyak prāṅmukhasthānakalpanāt' (for line 2); 'nimbas tu' (for 'nikṣubhā' in line 7); 'tataḥ sthāpyāśvinoḥ sthānaṃ pūrvadevagṛhād bahiḥ' (for line 10); 'rājñasrauṣau' (for 'rājñastoṣau' in line 11); 'jāndakāmacarau (v. l. jānukāmacarau) sthāpyau dakṣiṇāṃ diśam āsthitau' (for line 13); 'kuvero loka-pūjitaḥ' (for 'kuveraḥ soma eva ca' in line 15); 'yatra vā vidyate sthānaṃ dikṣu sarvā guhādayaḥ' (for line 17); 'pratimāyās tu sūtreṇa kāryaṃ madhye 'sya maṇḍalam' (for line 22); line 14 (prāpnuyānnūkṣutāyau tu etc.) does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p.

It is to be noted that in Sāmba-p., chap. 16, wherein the position of the attendants of the Sun has been given, there is mention neither of Śrī and Mahāśvetā nor of Soma, and the position of the Aśvins and Revanta is different. Mahāśvetā is, however, mentioned in Sāmba-p. 32.32 and 38. 39 and Soma is included in chap. 36 (verse 41b) among the attendant deities of the Sun.

According to Viṣṇudh. III. 67 the names and position of the attendants of the Sun are as follows:—Daṇḍin (i.e. Daṇḍa-nāyaka), Dharma in the form of a lion, and the banner (dhvaja)—on the left of the Sun; Piṅgala—on the right; the Sun's four sons (viz., Revanta, Yama and the two Manus) as well as his four wives (viz., Rājñī, Nikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā)—on both sides. The Sun, who is the king of planets, may also be surrounded by other planets.

Durgā), the tops of these flags being furnished with the figures (which may either be made of gold, silver or gems, or be painted) of the animals which serve as the carriers of the respective deities; method of furnishing temples with flags.—(Chap. 33). Method of performing the annual worship (sāṃvatsarī pūjā) and the annual car-festival (ratha-yātrā)[43] of the Sun with the use of Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras* (there being no Tantric element) ; performance of the rite for the pacification of planets (graha-śānti) in case the car was damaged while being drawn.—(Chap. 34). Mental performance of the car-festival by the devotees, who are to have their heads always shaved.—(Chap. 35). Offer of incense by raising the vesel, first to the atmospheric Sun and then to his image and his attendants and other atmospheric deities (viz., Rājñī, Nikṣubhā, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña,[44] Stoṣa,[45]Kalmāṣa, Garutmat, the quarter-deities, Diṇḍi,[46] Revanta,[47] Indra, Yama,

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[43] The car-festival was performed in the following way:—A car was constructed with gold, silver or hard wood, and fitted with good and well-decorated (artificial) horses. The image of the Sun was placed in it and duly worshipped with the performance of sacrifice to the Sun. The car was then drawn by men or bulls. At the end of the festival Brahmins were gratified with various kinds of food, and śānti-homa was performed.

The Sāmba-p. (34. 14-17a) says that the car of the Sun, which was originally made by Brahmā with the different divisions of a year as its component parts, and in imitation of which Viśvakarman constructed cars for other gods, was introduced in the world of mortals by Ikṣvāku to whom it was given by Vaivasvata Manu.

[44-45] In Sāmba-p. 36. 39a these two names are wrongly given as Rājan and Toṣa (tato rājñe ca toṣāya kalmāṣāya garutmate) In other places of the Sāmba-p. the names Rājña and Stoṣa are found. Bhav. I. 143. 40a, which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 36.39a, gives the names as Rājña and Srauṣa (tathā rājñāya srauṣāya tatheśāya garutmate).

[46-47] These two names have been given as Daṇḍin and Raivanta in Sāmba-p. 36. 40a (daṇḍine ca tato dadyād raivantānucarāya ca); but in other places of this Purāṇa the names Diṇḍi and Revanta (or Raivata) occur. Bhav. I. 143. 51a, which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 36.40a, reads 'diṇḍine tu tato dadyāddhemantāya yadūttama.' The reading 'hemantāya' is obviously a mistake for 'revantāya.'

In the Viṣṇudharmottara (III. 67. 5) it is Daṇḍanāyaka who is named as Daṇḍin.

Jaleśa i.e. Varuṇa, Kuvera, Soma, and others), after summoning the Sun by falling on knees, offering flowers to him on a copper vessel by muttering the Āditya-hṛdaya *mantra*, and worshipping the Sun with the citation of Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras*.—(Chap. 36). Method of burning incense (during which a fire is to be kindled, the Sun is to be summoned with a Purāṇic *mantra*, *homa* is to be performed with the citation of Vedic *mantras*, and so on); names of the sacrificial and non-sacrificial trees, the proper time for *homa*, and the persons eligible for performing *homa*.—(Chap. 37). Results of various kinds of service rendered to the Sun (viz., worship, offer of various articles to the deity, gifts to be made to Brahmins and others, salutation, fasting, etc.); characteristics of Sūrya-bhaktas ('bhakti' and 'śraddhā' being defined as 'manaso bhāvanā bhaktir icchā śraddhā ca kathyate'); the six mediums of worship, viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity (there being no mention of *yantra* and *maṇḍala*).[48]—(Chap. 38). Method of initiation (which requires the selection and preparation of the ground, selection of spiritual preceptors and disciples, offer of *argha* to the Sun with the *mahāmantra*, drawing of a maṇḍala with the figure of a twelve-petalled lotus in it, performance of *homa* and of tattva-nyāsa and mantra-nyāsa, worship of the quarter-guardians, to some of whom fish, meat etc. are offered, and so on, the *mantras* used in connection with initiation having Tantric symbolism).—(Chaps. 39 and 41). The import of letters used as symbols in *mantras* (which have Tantric symbolism).—(Chap. 40). Sadācāra[49] for the Sun-worshippers. —(Chap. 44). Methods and results of observing the seven different Saptamī Tithis, viz., Vijaya-saptamī, Kāmikā Saptamī etc., as well as the twelve Śukla Saptamīs.—(Chap. 46). Method of Sun-worship with the performance of nyāsas and mudrās and the citation of *mantras* which have Tantric symbolism; method of performance of different kinds of mudrās; dissertation on the formation and import of bījas used in *mantras* (with classification of all the letters of the alphabet); performance of abhicāra; rites to be performed at the time of saṃnyāsa; method of practising *yoga*; and so on.—(Chaps. 47-83). Results of actions (karma-vipāka); gifts to be made to the reader (pāṭhaka) of the Sāmba-p. for the pleasure of the Sun.—(Chap. 84).

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[48] Sāmba-p. 38. 45—

agnau toye cāntarikṣe śucau bhūmyāṃ tathaiva ca/
pratimāyāṃ tathā piṇḍyāṃ dadyād arghaṃ prayatnataḥ//

[49] In the section on sadācāra the following lines are noteworthy:—

(a) parasmin daṇḍane na icchet/kruddho 'pi na hanyāt anyatra
bhāryā-putra-dāsa-dāsī-śiṣya-bhrātṛbhyaḥ/
(b) prātar utthāya pitaram ācāryam abhivādayet/
(c) vṛddho 'gatir avasanno mitrāṇi śuka-sārikāḥ/
pārāvatāḥ puṇyakṛtāṃ gehe syus tailapāyikāḥ//

Besides the above-mentioned topics the Sāmba-p. contains a number of hymns (stava) in praise of the Sun.[50] It also contains the etymological meanings of the following:—

(1) The epithets Āditya, Aja, Mahādeva, Īśvara, Brahmā, Bhava, Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Svayaṃbhū, Hiraṇyagarbha and Nārāyaṇa as applied to the Sun (chap. 7, verses 16-21),

(2) the Sun's twelve common names[51] (except Mihira and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas,[52] and the names Śakra, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Rudra and Kāla as applied to the Sun for his different functions (chap. 9, verses 15ff.),

(3) the names Rājñī and Nikṣubhā for the Sun's two wives (chap. 11, verses 54-57), and

(4) the names Rājña, Stoṣa, Jāndakāra and Māṭhara for four of the Sun's attendants (chap. 16, verses 9-10 and 14-15).

The above contents of the present Sāmba-p. show that the Purāṇa is pre-eminently a work of the Sauras whose sectarian *mantra* is 'khakholkāya namaḥ'. Herein the Sun is called the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma. He is both the individual and the supreme soul and is both one and many. While residing as kṣetrajña in the material body this Supreme Being, who is both personal and impersonal, remains formless and is not contaminated by actions or influenced by the objects of senses. When transcending the three *guṇas* he is called Puruṣa. It is he who is worshipped in different forms by gods and by men in the different stages of their life, and who pervades the universe and is its protector and regulator.[53]

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[50] Sāmba-p. 12. 13ff.; 13. 3ff. (eulogy of Viśvakarman); 15. 7ff.; 17. 1ff. (the 'great hymn' pronounced by Rudra in the form of Diṇḍi); 25. 5-8 (the 'stava-rāja' consisting of the twenty-one principal names of the Sun, viz., Vikartana, Brahmā, Śrīmān etc.).

[51] These are Āditya, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mihira etc., as enumerated above.

[52] These names (Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan etc.) have been mentioned above.

The present Sāmba-p., with its varied contents, is certainly not a unified work. Its chapters can be divided into two main groups, viz.,

I. Chaps. 1-38, 44-46 and 84; and
II. Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83.

That the chapters of these two groups were composed by different hands in different climes and ages, can be established by numerous evidences, the most important of which are noted below.

(1) All the chapters of the first group, except chaps. 17, 22-23 and 37, are found to occur, partly or wholly, in the Bhaviṣya-p., as the following list will show. (It is to be noted that not even a single verse of any of the chapters of the second group is found in the Bhaviṣya-p.).

Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 2 (except verse 21b)	=	I. 66, verses 42-46, 49-63a.
,, 3 (except verses 10-12, 26-27, 30b, 31b-32a, 52b, 56)	=	I. 72, verses 3, 6-14a; I. 73, verses 1, 2b-10a, 14-24a, 25-41a, 43b-45, 49-50.
,, 4	=	I. 74, verses 1-4, 7-24, 26a, 28b-29.
,, 5 (except verses 1-9a, 21a, 26a, 30b-39)	=	I. 67, verses 3-6a, 7b-10, 12b-15, 25b-32a.
,, 6 (except verse 12b)	=	I. 75, verses 1, 3a, 4-6a, 7a, 10-13, 16-17; I. 76, verses 1-5a, 6b-8a, 10b-15.
,, 7 (except verses 37, 62b-71)	=	I. 76. 16b-20a; I. 77. 1-21; I. 78. 1-24a, 25b-41a.
,, 8 (except verse 13b, and second half of verse 13a)	=	I. 54. 2-14 (except the fourth pāda of verse 14).

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[53] See Sāmba-p., chaps. 5, 7, 9, 14, and so on.

Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣyā-p.
Chap. 8 (except verses 11b-13)	=	I. 78. 43b-53b.
,, 8, verses 1-4a, 5, 6b-7	=	I. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.
,, 9 (except verses 11a, 15-43)	=	I. 78. 53b-66, 67-69, 71-73, 75-84a.
,, 10	=	I. 79. 1-22a.
,, 11 (except verses 2-12a, 39, 48b-50, 70)	=	I. 79. 23, 24-58, 63a, 64-79a, 78b-81a, 82b-83a.
,, 11, verse 51a	=	I. 124. 32a.
,, 12 (except verses 3, 20a)	=	I. 121. 1-13, 15b-19a, 20b-28.
,, 13 (except verses 9b-11)	=	I. 122 (except verses 8b-9).
,, 14 (except verses 17b, 21)	=	I. 123. 1-19, 21b-22, 23b-34.
,, 15 (except verses 16, 26)	=	I. 123. 36-40a, 41a, 42a, 43b-44a, 45-46a, 53-56a, 46b-49a, 51a, 56b-57, 58-66a.
,, 16 (except verses 14-16, 19b-20a, 33)	=	I. 124. 1-10, 13-15a, 16 24a, 25b-28, 31, 34-38, 40.
,, 18 (except verses 2b-8, 20a, 32)	=	I. 125. 2, 4, 7-25a, 26b-38a, 39-63a, 64b-71.
,, 19 (except verses 2-3, 15a)	=	I. 126. 1, 3-6a, 7-9a, 10b-28.
,, 20 (except verses 1-4, 7b-8, 15-16)	=	I. 53. 35b-44, 45b-51a.
,, 21 (except verses 4b, 29a, 38b-39, 40b, 42b, 52-53, 58)	=	I. 52. 8-23, 24b-25a, 28-45a, 46-49a; I. 53. 10-13a, 21-35a.
,, 24 (except verses 17b, 34b-36a)	=	I. 127. 3-9, 10b-27a, 28-29a, 30-36a.
,, 25	=	I. 128.
,, 26 (except verses 15, 22b-23, 50a)	=	I. 129. 1-2, 4, 6a, 7b-17a; I. 139. 1-9a, 10b (first half), 70a (second half), 70b-81, 83-97.
,, 27 (except verses 5, 19a)	=	I. 140. 20-23; I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24, 25b-26.
,, 28	=	I. 145. 2-7, 8b-21, 22b-24, 26, 25, 27.
,, 29 (except verses 1-7, 20a)	=	I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b.

Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 30 (except verses 28b-29 and 31b)	=	I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b-30, 36-41, 46-47.
,, 31	=	I. 132. 1-24.
,, 32 (except verses 13, 36b, 39a, 43-44, 49-50a, and 62)	=	I. 133. 1a ; I. 135. 6b-8, 9b-16, 20b-27a, 51-52a; I. 136. 2-7a, 9b-11a, 25b-26a, 37b-52a, 67-73, 75b-79a, 82; I. 137. 1-2.
,, 33	=	I. 138. 1a, 2-4, 21b-22a, 34a, 35-36a, 37-38a, 53a, 40b, 47, 39a, 41b, 64-69a, 70a, 71a, 72a, 73a, 76.
,, 34 (except verses 1-3, 10b, 72)	=	I. 55. 23b-25, 28b-29a, 30b, 31b-32, 36b-37a, 39a, 48b-50a, 51-54a, 55b-65a, 66b-75; I. 56. 7b-29a, 30-31, 47-51a; I. 57. 27b, 31a; I. 58. 1a, 2, 18-20a.
,, 35 (except verses 1b, 2b)	=	I. 58. 22b, 23-29, 30b-31a, 32b-37a, 38-45.
,, 36 (except verses 1, 4b, 10b-11a, 30, 40b-44)	=	I. 143. 5b-13, 14b-41a, 46-55a.
,, 38 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-16a, 21a, 24-26a, 33-35a, 36b-39, 40b-46a, 47b-48a, 50, 52b, 55b-56)	=	I. 80. 2, 9-11, 14, 16-18; I. 81. 2-3, 15b-16a; I. 82. 3a, 6a; I. 93. 1, 3-5a, 7, 9a, 15b-16a, 26a, 28, 30, 32a, 42a, 64, 66.
,, 46 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-5a, 9b, 22b-23a, 25b-26a, 27b-28a, 38-39)	=	I. 208. 6, 4-5, 7-16a, 17-18a, 21-23a, 24a, 23b, 27a, 28-35; I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a, 13b-14a, 15b-16a.
,, 84, verses 1-2a, 3	=	I. 120. 1a, 2b-3a, 4.

We shall see hereinafter that the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed these chapters from the Sāmba-p.

(2) The chapters of the first group are concerned with 'Mitravana' which is said in a good number of verses to have been situated on (or very close to) the bank of the 'great river' (mahānadī) Candrabhāgā[54], a tributary of the river Sindhu in the Punjab, and in which Sāmba established a Sun-temple and the city called Sāmbapura (modern Multan).[55]

The expression 'sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ', occurring in Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6[56] which are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7, must not be taken to indicate that Mitravana, mentioned in the chapters of the first group, was situated on the northern shore of the sea and was, therefore, identical with Mitravana in Orissa; because, in the chapters of the first group there is no second mention of Mitravana as being situated on the sea-coast. Moreover, in Sāmba-p. 26. 10b-12[57] (which are the same as Bhav. I. 129. 13b-15) it is said that the image of the Sun, which was constructed by Viśvakarman with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, was taken by him to the Himalayas and sent down the river Candrabhāgā, so that it might reach Sāmba who was living in Mitravana. Here it is clear that the Candrabhāgā rises in the Himalayas and is thus the same as the Candrabhāgā which is a tributary of the river Sindhu. So, Mitravana, which is said to have been situated on this Candrabhāgā, must be the same as the Mitravana of the Punjab.

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[54] Sāmba-p. 3. 2 (=Bhav. I. 72. 6); 4. 1-2a (=Bhav. I. 74. 1-2a); 4. 20 and 23 (=Bhav. I. 74. 22 and 24 respectively; in verse 24 the Bhaviṣya-p. wrongly reads 'mitrapadaṃ' for 'mitravanaṃ'); 24. 5-6 (=Bhav. I. 127. 6-7); 24. 31 (=Bhav. I. 127. 31b-32a); 26. 2b and 4b (=Bhav. I. 129. 2b and 7b); 26. 46a (=Bhav. I. 139. 90b); 26. 50 (=Bhav. I. 139. 94b).

[55] See the references in the immediately preceding foot-note.

[56] For the text of these verses in the Sāmba-p. as well as in the Bhaviṣya-p. see foot-note 20 above.

[57] prityā te sāṃpratam caiva sā mayā kāritaṃ punaḥ//
teneyaṃ kalpa-vṛkṣāt tu nirmitā pratimā mama/
kṛtvā himavataḥ pṛṣṭhe puṇya-siddha-niṣevite//
tvadarthaṃ candrabhāgāyāṃ tatas tenāvatāritā/
bhavatas tāraṇārthaṃ hi jātaṃ sthānam idaṃ mama//

The Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'kṛtvā teṣāṃ prapañco 'yaṃ sa mayā kāritaḥ punaḥ' for the first line; 'viśvakarmaṇā' for 'pratimā mama' in the second line; 'purā' for 'puṇya°' in the third line; 'pratāritā' for 'avatāritā' in the fourth line; 'tataḥ' for 'jātaṃ' in the fifth line.

But in chaps. 42-43[58] (of the second group), the place of Sun-worship is, in all cases, said to have been situated on the shore of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhi),[59] and never on or near the bank of the river Candrabhāgā.

(3) In the chapters of the first group the place at which 'Mitra' and Sāmba practised austerities and the latter established a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sāmbapura, is called Mitravana. But in chaps. 42-43 (of the second group) the place of Sun-worship is called the 'tapovana' (penance-forest) of the Sun (called Savitṛ, Bhāskara, Sūrya, Bhānu, Divākara etc. but never Mitra) in more places than one;[60] it is also called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra;[61] and it is only once (viz., in Sāmba-p. 42. 2) that this place is called 'Mitravana'. So, the word 'Mitravana', as occurring in Sāmba-p. 42. 2, is to be taken, like 'Sūrya-kānana', in its literal sense to mean the '(penance-) forest of Mitra', rather than a name.

(4) The chapters of the first group must have been written in Northern India (and most probably in its western part)[62]. But chaps. 42-43, which deal with the Sun's penance-forest (called *tapovana*, and also Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra) situated on the

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[58] For the contents of these two chapters see above.

[59] Sāmba-p. 42.7 and 17; 43.1, 33 and 45. Cf. also Sāmba-p 40.9-14.

[60] Sāmba-p. 42. 7, 9, 12 and 26; 43. 1.

[61] Sāmba-p. 43. 6; 43. 46; and 43. 50 respectively,

[62] The following holy places and rivers have been mentioned in chaps. 32 (verses 1-2) and 34 (verses 5-7) in connection with the holy water with which the Sun's image is to be bathed during its consecration and annual worship:—

Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Pṛthūdaka, Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Narmadā, Payoṣṇī, Yamunā, Tāmrā, Kṣiprā and Vetravatī. It is to be noted that all these holy places and rivers (except Payoṣṇī) belong to Northern India, especially to its western part, and that in the chapters of the first group no holy place or river (except Tapatī) of Southern India has been mentioned. It should be mentioned here that both Payoṣṇī and Tapatī (of which the latter is said to have risen from the Vindhyapāda and has been identified with the Sun's daughter of the same name) belong to the northernmost part of Southern India.

shore of the salt-ocean, are certainly concerned with a place very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka in Orissa, because Koṇārka, which was situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a small branch of the river Prācī), is called Sūrya-kṣetra, Ravi-kṣetra and Mitravana[63] in the Brahma-p., Ravi-kṣetra and Maitreya Vana in the Kapila-saṃhitā,[64] and Sūrya-kṣetra in the Śiva-p.[65]

(5) In the chapters of the first group, it is Sāmba who is said to have established at Mitravana a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sāmbapura, and the image, which Sāmba established at Mitravana, is said to have been constructed by Viśvakarman, taken to the Himalayas, and sent down the river Candrabhāgā for the sake of Sāmba. But in chaps. 42-43 the history of the Sun's image, which was placed at the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean, is given as follows. An image of the Sun was constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods. It was then placed on the Kalpa-vṛkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it came down to the salt-ocean successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa (i.e. Vipāśā), Śātadrava (i.e. Śatadru), Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagaṅgā. Now, once the residents of the Sūrya-kānana assembled on the sea-shore in order to see the Sun-rise and found to their great surprise that the rising Sun, who reddened the sky, the ocean and the earth by means of his rays, appeared in two forms—one remaining in the sky and the other in the ocean. In water they found another form of the Sun, which Manus (and not Sāmba) recovered by entering the ocean and established in a temple which was built there for it by Vaivasvata Manu (and not by Sāmba).

(6) In verses 9-10 of chap. 42 (of the second group) the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana), situated on the shore of the salt-ocean, is said to have been made by Viśvakarman; but in the chapters of the first group there is no such statement.

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[63] Brahma-p. 28. 10 and 17. Brahma-p. 30. 41 and 48, in which the name Mitravana occurs, have been taken, along with other verses, from the Sāmba-p.

[64] See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439. Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali encyclopaedia, ed. Nagendra Nath Vasu), IV, pp. 545-548.

[65] See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439.

(7) In verses 16-36 of chap. 42 (of the second group) an attempt has been made to give a garb of greater antiquity to the Sun's penance-forest by saying that before Sāmba had gone to this place, some sages of old performed austerities there for many centuries in order to please the Sun and became the creators (sraṣṭāraḥ) of this place through the Sun's favour. But in the chapters of the first group there is no mention of any sages living at Mitravana before Sāmba's arrival there.

(8) In chaps. 42 and 43 there are a few instances[66] of such bad versification as is not to be found in any of the chapters of the first group.

(9) In the chapters of the first group the Vedas have been held in the highest esteem. The hymns, recited by the gods and others in praise of the Sun, are called 'vedokta' or 'veda-vedāṅga-saṃmita';[67] the three Vedas are said to attend upon the Sun;[68] the agni-hotra-gṛha (the house for the offer of oblations to the fire) is an unavoidable part of the Sun-temple;[69] and so on. Among these chapters there are a few (viz., chaps. 30, 32 and 34-37) which deal with the method of Sun-worship, but in none of them there is any trace of Tantric influence. In these chapters the Vedic *homa* forms an important part of the worship; the *mantras* to be used are either Vedic or Purāṇic or both;[70] and the mediums of worship (viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity) do not include the Tantric *yantra* or *maṇḍala*.[71] On the other hand, Tantric influence is very prominent in almost all the chapters of the second group. Mantras with Tantric symbolism are employed at every step; methods of drawing maṇḍalas and performing various kinds of mudrās are given; the necessity of performing nyāsas and mudrās in worship is emphasised; the word 'tantra' has been used to mean not only 'procedure' but

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[66] Sāmba-p. 42. 34-35; 43. 2a.

[67] Ibid., 12. 8; 12. 13; 24. 7; and so on.

[68] Ibid., 6. 15.

[69] Ibid., 29. 15.

[70] Ibid., 30. 18; 32. 12ff., especially verse 25; 34. 30-34 and 43-49; 37. 19b (purāṇoktena mantreṇa); and so on.

[71] Ibid., 38. 45.

also Tantric works;[72] methods of performing abhicāra rites have been given; and so on.

(10) That the present Sāmba-p. ended with the chapters of the first group is shown by the facts that in Sāmba-p. 39.1 Bṛhadbala says to Vasiṣṭha, "O venerable Brahmin, you have made me hear, both synthetically and analytically, this imperishable and highly blissful 'Purāṇa'", and that in Sāmba-p. 39. 5 the portion of this Purāṇa beginning with chap. 39 is called the Uttara (bhāga) and is said to have been spoken out by Bhāskara.[73]

(11) The names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Aruṇa, Sūrya, Aṃśumālin, Dhātṛ, Indra, Ravi, Gabhasti, Yama, Svarṇa-retas, Tvaṣṭṛ, Mitra and Viṣṇu), as given in Sāmba-p. 51. 66-67 and 162-170, do not all agree with those contained in Sāmba-p. 4.6 and 9.3ff. (In Sāmba-p. 4. 6 the names of the twelve Ādityas are given as follows:—Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra. The list, as contained in Sāmba-p. 9.3ff., agrees with that in Sāmba-p. 4. 6 in respect of the names but not of their order).

(12) Chap. 51 has borrowed many verses from chaps. 7 and 9.[74]

(13) Among the chapters of the first group there are several cross-references[75] to the topics dealt with in these chapters, but there

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[72] Ibid., 41. 1; 51. 195; 55, 99 and 101; 57. 15; 61. 50; 68. 9; 74. 10; and so on.

[73] Ibid., 39. 5a—purāṇasyottaraṃ rājan yad uktaṃ bhāskareṇa tu.

[74] A list of these common verses is given below:—

Sāmba-p.		Sāmba-p.	Sāmba-p.		Sāmba-p.
51. 126-129	=	7. 6-9.	51. 187-191a	=	7. 54-55, 58b-59a, 62-63.
51. 139	=	7. 19b-20a.	51. 163	=	9. 19.
51. 140a	—cf.	7. 17b.	51. 164b-165a	=	9. 31.
51. 141a	=	7. 16b.	51. 165b-166a	=	9. 25.
51. 141b	=	7. 17a.	51. 168a	=	9. 38b.
51. 142a	=	7. 18a.	51. 170	=	9. 39.

[75] Viz., Sāmba-p. 5. 3a refers to 4. 5-7; 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20; 7. 36 refers to 7. 12; 10. 4 refers to 6.20; 34. 3a refers to chaps. 29-32; 34. 4b refers to chap. 32; 34. 14 refers to chap. 21; 35. 2b refers to chaps. 25 and 29; 35. 3b refers to 10. 4ff.; 38. 2 refers to chaps. 29-31 and 34-37; 45. 1a refers to chap. 44.

is not a single verse which refers to the topics dealt with in any of the chapters of the second group. On the other hand, in verse 14 of chap. 42 (of the second group) there is a reference to the contents of chap. 3. Hence the chapters of the second group must have been added later than those of the first group.

(14) The chapters of the first group, unlike those of the second, contain several instances of grammatical solecism, viz., the roots 'pracch', 'vas' (in the sense of residing) and 'jval' (in the sense of burning) have been used in the their Ātmanepadīya forms.[76]

From the above disagreements between the chapters of the two groups it is clear that all these chapters could not be the works of the same hand nor could they belong to the same clime or age. Among the chapters of the first group, again, there are some which must have been added later. We shall now try to find them out.

Though in the concluding verse (iti muni-ṛṣabhaḥ sutāya viṣṇor vidhim upadiśya ca nārado jagāma/etc.) of chap. 32 Nārada is said to have left Sāmba after giving him necessary instructions on the consecration of images of the Sun, chap. 33 opens as follows:—

'nārada uvāca—
atahparaṃ pravakṣyāmi dhvajāropaṇam uttamam/etc.'

This disagreement between the statements about Nārada in these two chapters raises doubt in our mind about the genuineness of chap. 33. This doubt is considerably strengthened by Vasiṣṭha's statement in Sāmba-p. 34. 1-2 that 'on the expiry of a complete year after Sāmba's consecration of the image of the thousand-rayed (Sun), Sāmba again approached Nārada and asked him how he was to perform the annual worship (sāṃvatsarī pūjā) of the Sun'. Moreover, Sāmba-p. 34. 3a (yathoktena vidhānena pratimā-sthāpane kṛte) refers to the contents of chaps. 29-32, and Sāmba-p. 34. 4b (pūrvoktena vidhānena pratimāṃ snāpayed budhaḥ) refers to chap. 32, the contents of chap. 33 being ignored totally. *Hence chap. 33 must have been added later.* But as this chapter occurs in the Bhaviṣya-p., *it must have been inserted*

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[76] Sāmba-p. 6. 6 ('pṛcchasva' for 'pṛccha'); 6. 12 ('pṛcchate' for 'pṛcchati'); 11. 12 ('vasamānā' for 'vasantī'); 38. 38 ('jvalamānaṃ' for 'jvalantaṃ').

into the Sāmba-p. earlier than the time of incorporation of the chapters of the Sāmba-p. into the Bhaviṣya.

Chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., nor are they referred to by any of the remaining chapters of the Sāmba-p. Sāmba-p. 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20, ignoring chap. 17. So, *chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 must be taken as later additions.*

The second group is made up of a few units which might not have been written at the same time. Chaps. 39-41 form such a unit. We have already noted that according to verses 1 and 5 of chap. 39, chaps. 39ff. form a distinct part, called Uttara (-bhāga), which is not a continuation of, but is quite different from, chaps. 1-38. Towards the end of chaps. 40 and 41, the section on dīkṣā (in chaps. 39-41) is called the 'Purāṇokta Śāstra' which everybody is advised to read.[77] Hence chaps. 39-41 can safely be taken to be a distinct unit.

As regards chaps. 42-43, we have already said much on their distinct character and their connection with Mitravana of Orissa.

Chaps. 53-83 form a distinct section called Jñānottara, the name Jñānottara being mentioned in the colophons of many of these chapters. This section, which is really a Tantra, as it is called in many of its verses, is not peculiar with the printed edition only but is found in all the Mss of the Sāmba-p. hitherto discovered. Moreover, the chapters of this section are often called Paṭala (just as in the Tantric works) and numbered afresh. For instance, the colophon of chap. 53 runs as follows:—iti sāmbapurāṇe pūjā-vidhi-nirūpaṇe prathamaṃ paṭalaṃ nāma tripañcāśattamo'dhyāyaḥ.

Among the chaps. 53-83, there are a few, viz. chaps. 53-55 (except verses 98-117 of chap. 55), which are originally Saura, but the rest prominently exhibit Śaiva influence. In these remaining chaptets (viz., chap. 55, verse 98 to chap. 83) Śiva and his *liṅga* have been mentioned on numerous occasions, Śiva is called Paramātman (55. 114), and all gods are said to be 'Śivātmaka' (68. 49). Going to describe the way in which a devoted householder can attain the Śiva-loka easily, chap. 69 says that the devotee should have, among other things, the following qualifications, viz., he should worship his spiritual preceptor like Śiva himself, follow the path of Śiva, and always meditate on the deity.[78] In Sāmba-p. 71. 1 Śaṃkara is called the best bīja and the highest deity; Sāmba-p. 77. 1 proposes to describe the means by which a devotee may attain the likeness of Śiva and his tie of bondage (pāśa) may be severed;[79] in Sāmba-p. 80.10 it is said that the Yogins do not revert to rebirths after attaining the imperishable and the highest deity, namely Śiva;[80] chap. 82 explains what is meant by bhāva-liṅga, emphasises the necessity of its worship with flowers in the forms of eight mental attitudes (*bhāva*, viz., *ahiṃsā*, *indriya-nigraha*, *dhṛti*, *kṣamā*, *śauca*, *akrodha*, *hrī* and *satya*) for the pleasure of Śiva, and says: "One, who always worships the imperishable Śiva with these flowers, is able to see this Supreme Being by breaking open the door of ignorance";[81] the tie of bongage, which subjects all creatures to rebirths, is in many places called pāśa;[82] the names of Śiva occur in many of the *mantras*;[83] and so on. So, it is highly

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[77] Sāmba-p. 40. 41a—

aprameyam idaṃ śāstraṃ purāṇaṃ pūrva-coditam.

Sāmba-p. 41. 1—

nānyac chāstraṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ bhānoḥ pūjā-nivedane/
purāṇoktam imaṃ rājan sarva-vedopabṛṃhitam//
* * adhyetavyam idaṃ śāstraṃ * * * //

Sāmba-p. 41. 7—

purāṇoktam idaṃ śāstraṃ * * * //

[78] Sāmba-p. 69. 1ff.—
tattvānusāreṇa pathaḥ kramaśo 'thānuvarṇyate/ śiva-lokaṃ yathā yena praviśed gṛhavadgṛhī// gaṇa-maṇḍala-tattvajñaḥ........ / .... śivavad guru-pūjakaḥ//.............. śiva-mārgānusāri ca........... ....// ....dhyāyaṃś ca śivam ātmasthaṃ........... // saṃtyajya............../ matāni viparītāni dhyāyen nityaṃ sadāśivam//

[79] Sāmba-p. 77. 1—
śiva-tulyatvam asya syāt pāśa-cchedas tu yena vai/
tam ato varṇayiṣyāmi saṃskāraṃ kramaśaḥ param//

[80] bhittvā mūrdhni kapālaṃ tu viśaty avyayam īśvaram/
yaṃ prāpya na nivarteta yoginaḥ paramaṃ śivam//

[81] Sāmba-p. 82. 8b-9a—
ebhir yas tu sadā puṣpair arcayec chivam avyayam/
udghāṭya tu tamodvāraṃ śivaṃ paśyen nirañjanam//

[82] Sāmba-p. 77. 1 and 6; 83. 12, 18 and 19; and so on.

[83] Sāmba-p. 55. 98; 61. 18.

probable that these chapters with Śaiva influence were taken from some work of the Śaivas and adapted to the need of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications. That these chapters originally belonged to some other work, is shown by the fact that the introduction of Bhāskara as speaking to the inquisitive Brahmā in Sāmba-p. 55. 98ff. and of Maheśvara as speaking to Brahmā in chaps. 82-83 is made suddenly without any previous notice of the interlocutors.

The remaining chaps. 47-52 of this group must be taken to be another unit. These chapters seem to have been writen at the same time.

From the above analysis it is evident that the present Sāmba-p. consists of different units mostly belonging to different climes and ages. We shall now try to determine the dates of composition of these units. But the problem of date of these units is intimately connected with the problems of mutual relation between the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, i). We shall first set ourselves to the solution of these problems.

It has already been shown that a large number of chapters is found common to the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. That as regards these common chapters the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, can be established by the following evidences.

(1) Regarding the Sāmba-p. the Matsya-p. (53. 61) says:—

yatra sāmbaṃ puraskṛtya bhaviṣye'pi kathānakam/,
procyate tat punar loke sāmbam etan munivratāḥ//[84]

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[84] This verse, which agrees also with Skanda-p. VII. i. 2. 82 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'), is found ascribed to the Matsya-p. (or Mātsya) in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra' and 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat') and II. i, p. 22 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'śuci-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'tat procyate' for 'procyate tat'; and 'eva' for 'etat'), Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (called Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22 (v. l. 'yac ca' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vrataiḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ), Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v. l. 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vrataiḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat').

'O sages, (the section, occurring) in the Bhaviṣya also, wherein there is a small tale concerning Sāmba, is, again, called Sāmba (-purāṇa) in society'. The words 'api'[85] and 'punaḥ' in this verse, as well as the word 'pṛthak' in the verse 'aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ etc'.[86] show that though at the time of composition of these verses the Sāmba-p. was found to exist separately and was also found incorporated in the Bhaviṣya-p., the author of these verses was quite conscious of the fact that the Sāmba-p. was really an independent Purāṇic work.

(2) In Varāha-p., chap. 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance[87] for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by

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[85] The reading 'api' is found not only in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. (53. 61) and Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. (53. 61) of the Matsya-p. but also in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32, Jiva Gosvāmin's commentary on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15. (See the immediately preceding foot-note). The reading 'bhaviṣyati' (for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), as found in the AnSS ed. of the Matsya-p., in Skanda-p. VII. i. 2. 82, and in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 and II. i, p. 22, is metrically defective.

[86] aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat pradiśyate/
vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam// (Mat. 53. 63).

For the different readings of this verse in different works see Chap. I, foot-notes 37 and 38.

[87] In Varāha-p., chap. 177, the story of Sāmba has been given, with certain innovations, as follows: —

Once Nārada saw Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and told him that all his 16000 wives were enamoured of Sāmba for his physical beauty and that this fact used to be discussed by the gods in Brahma-loka. In order to be convinced of the truth of Nārada's allegation Kṛṣṇa called Sāmba before his wives and saw with his own eyes the mental agitation his wives had at the sight of Sāmba. Kṛṣṇa was ashamed of his wives' conduct, and decried female nature as being unscrupulously lustful. With the intention of making Sāmba an object of Kṛṣṇa's curse, Nārada said that this guilt was certainly not one-sided but was equally shared by Sāmba who used to encourage Kṛṣṇa's wives in their desire for sexual enjoyment, and that even the residents of Satya-loka were of opinion that Kṛṣṇa's wives were corrupted by Sāmba. Nārada even advised Kṛṣṇa to forsake Sāmba. Consequently, Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmba to be deformed; and in a moment Sāmba became an ugly leper. As a remedy Nārada advised Sāmba to go to Udayācala and worship the rising Sun there in the forenoon. He also assured Sāmba that there would be a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' on the basis of Sāmba's words (cf. bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti ca tava vādād bhaviṣyati) and that this Purāṇa would always be read

Kṛṣṇa's curse has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have 'made the famous Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa new'. This shows that originally the Bhaviṣya-p. did not contain any story of Sāmba, and that the chapters on Sāmba were added to the Bhaviṣya-p. later.

(3) According to Nāradīya-p. I. 100, the Bhaviṣya-p. consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura and Pratisarga, and of only 14000 ślokas. In connection with a description of the contents of these Parvans, the Nāradīya-p. says that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt with creation etc., sacraments, and the Tithi-kalpas up to the Saptamī Tithi, and which represented all the śāstras, related to the Aghora-kalpa, contained mainly the praise of Brahmā,[88] and was 'āditya-carita-prāya' and 'sarvākhyāna-samanvita'. The non-mention of the famous story of Sāmba among the contents of the Brāhma Parvan, the mention of a short extent of 14000 ślokas for the entire Bhaviṣya-p., and the statement that the Brāhma Parvan abounded in the praise of Brahmā and related to the occurrence of the Aghora-kalpa, tend to show that the Brāhma Parvan, described by the Nāradīya-p., was much shorter than the present one (in which there is no mention of the Aghora-kalpa and which has retained some of the contents of its earlier prototype),[89] and that it lacked the story of Sāmba.

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by Nārada himself before Brahmā in Brahma-loka and be declared by Sumantu to Manu in the world of mortals. But as the disabled Sāmba intimated his inability to go to Udayācala, Nārada asked him to go to Mathurā (which was evidently nearer to Dvārakā than Udayācala) and worship the Sun there after taking his bath in the Yamunā, so that Sāmba might derive the benefits of worshipping the Sun in the morning on the Udayācala, at mid-day, and in the evening. Sāmba did so and was cured of his disease. He asked the Sun about the Purāṇa declared by the latter (cf. raviṃ papraccha dharmātmā purāṇaṃ sūrya-bhāṣitam), made the famous 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' new (cf. bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti khyātaṃ kṛtvā punar navam), and established three images of the Sun,—one on the Udayācala, another named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala. Sāmba also established another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.

[88] Cf. Nāradīya-p. I. 100. 11a—

eṣu pañcasu parvasu brahmaṇo mahimādhikaḥ.

[89] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 167-171.

That the Bhaviṣya-p. was originally much shorter than the present one and that it grew in bulk with the addition of various stories in later times, are shown by the present Bhaviṣya itself, in which Sumantu says to king Śatānīka that all the Purāṇas originally contained 12000 ślokas each but later on increased in bulk by incorporating various stories, and that in course of time the Bhaviṣya-p. came to have half a lac of ślokas.[90]

(4) In the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms[91] of the Bhaviṣya-p. which consists of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra (i.e. Saura) and Pratisarga. The extent of this Ms is much shorter than that of the printed Bhaviṣya, and it lacks the story of Sāmba.

The evidences, adduced above, are certainly not very strong when taken individually. So, they are to be considered with the following internal ovidences.

(5) In Bhav. I. 93, in which many of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 38 are found, there is mention of both the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Sāmba-p.[92] among the objects to be offered to the Sun.

(6) The story of Saṃjñā has been given in two places of the Brāhma Parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz., in chaps. 47 and 79. Of these, chap. 79 has the great majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, and narrates the story of Saṃjñā in the same way as the latter.[93] But in Bhav. I. 47 the story of Saṃjñā has been given very differently in the following way.

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[90] Cf. Bhav. I. 1. 104b-107a—

sarvāṇy eva purāṇāni saṃjñeyāni nararṣabha//
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi proktāniha manīṣibhiḥ/
punar vṛddhiṃ gatānīha ākhyānair vividhair nṛpa//
yathā skāndaṃ tathā cedaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ kurunandana/
skāndaṃ śata-sahasraṃ tu lokānāṃ jñātam eva hi//
bhaviṣyam etad ṛṣiṇāṃ lakṣārdhaṃ saṃkhyayā kṛtam//

[91] No. 4500.—See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 424-428, No. 3738. It should be mentioned here that this Ms gives a text which is quite different from that of the printed Bhaviṣya.

[92] Bhav. I. 93. 71—

bhaviṣyaṃ sāmba-saṃjñaṃ vā dattvā sūryāya pustakam/
rājasūyāśvamedhābhyāṃ phalaṃ prāpnoti mānavaḥ//

[93] For the story of Saṃjñā as given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, see above.

While the Sun (called Mārtaṇḍa) was yet in the Cosmic Egg (aṇḍastha), Dakṣa gave him his incomparably beautiful daughter named Arūpā[94] as wife, and Yama and Yamunā were born to her. Now, the Sun was beautiful but so bright that, being dazzled by his brilliance, Arūpā was unable to see any of his limbs; even her beautiful golden complexion was turned black by the Sun's rays. So, being dejected in mind, Arūpā determined to place her own chāyā (shadow) there and go to the Northern Kuru country for practising penance. Consequently, she left Chāyā to occupy her own place, with a request not to divulge the matter to the Sun, went to the Northern Kuru country, and lived there with deer for many years in the form of a mare. The Sun took Chāyā to be his wife and begot on her 'two children named Śani and Tapatī.'[95] Chāyā was very partial to her own children and did not look upon Yama and Yamunā with much affection. Now, once Yamunā and Tapatī quarrelled with each other and were turned into rivers (by their mutual curse); and Yama was beaten by Chāyā so severely that 'he stood before her by raising his foot'. Chāyā was enraged at Yama's behaviour and cursed him saying, "Thou, fool, hast raised thy foot towards me! So, the gruesome work of killing the lives of creatures will undoubtedly be thine as long as there will be the sun and the moon. If thou placest this foot on the ground, worms will consume it, polluted as it is by my curse". When Yama and Chāyā were thus quarrelling, the Sun came there. Yama intimated to the Sun Chāyā's unequal treatment towards them, and added that she was merely the chāyā (shadow) of his mother and not his mother herself. Yama also informed the Sun of the unhappy incident concerning Yamunā and Tapatī. Hearing all this, the Sun said that the worms would not enter the earth after taking flesh and blood from Yama's foot placed on the surface of the earth, that the water of the Yamunā would be as holy as that of the Ganges, into which the Yamunā would ultimately flow, that the Tapatī would be equal to the Narmadā in respect of sanctity and would flow on the south of the Vindhyas, that Yama would become the Lokapāla, and that Chāyā would thenceforward remain in her own body. The Sun then went to Dakṣa and asked him the reason of his daughter's departure. Dakṣa, who understood the whole matter, told the Sun that being unable to see the Sun's figure his daughter went to the Northern Kuru country. He also proposed that he might make the Sun's figure discernible, only if the latter agreed to stand the pain. The Sun consenting, Dakṣa thought of Takṣan (the divine architect), who immediately came there and, with the Sun's consent to bear the pain, began to pare out his limbs from head to foot by means of his instruments. When the rays of his different limbs were thus being pared, the Sun fainted at every moment. So, being afraid of the Sun's curse, Takṣan left the parts of his feet from the heels to the toes unpared and removed the pain by applying on his body a paste made of Karavīra flowers and red sandal. The Sun went to the Northern Kuru country, took the form of a horse, and had physical union with his wife. The two Aśvins and Revanta were born of this union. After meeting his wife the Sun reassumed his divine form.

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[94] In Bhav. I. 47 the name of Dakṣa's daughter is given as Saṃjñā only once, viz., in verse 48b, but even in that line the reading 'saṃjñāyāḥ' is found replaced by the reading 'savarṇāyāḥ' in some Mss.

[95] Though here (in Bhav. I. 47. 12a) only two children, namely Śani and Tapatī, are said to have been born of Chāyā by Mārtaṇḍa, in Bhav. I. 47. 48a Chāyā is said to have three children, viz., Tapatī, Śani and Sāvarṇi (tapatī śaniś ca sāvarṇiś chāyāpatyāni vai viduḥ). So, verse 48 of Bhav. I. 47 must be spurious.

The above story differs from that in Bhav. I. 79 on many important points; viz., there is mention neither of Vaivasvata Manu nor of Śrutaśravas (who was destined to become Sāvarṇi Manu) among the sons of the Sun; the name of the Sun's wife is given as Arūpā; Arūpā is said to have gone direct to the Northern Kuru country without stopping at her father's house; Yamunā and Tapatī are said to have been turned into rivers by their mutual curse; and so on. So, it is evident that these two divergent stories could never have been written by the same hand.

(7) The Bhaviṣya-p. begins to have verses in common with the Sāmba-p. from I. 52 (dealing with the following topics: —the description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, and the method and results of saluting the Sun). Bhav. I. 52 is intimately connected with, and

is a cotinuation of, Bhav. I. 51 which deals with the solar vow called Mahāsaptamī requiring the worship of the Sun, the gift of a chariot, and the performance of a procession after mounting the Sun's image in a car (ratha-yātrā). It is the mention of Ratha-yātrā in Bhav. I. 51. 13b that introduces the topics of Bhav. I. 52ff. Moreover, Vāsudeva, who speaks to Sāmba in Bhav. I. 48-51 and who is said to have vanished from Sāmba's presence in Bhav. I. 52. 1-2, is introduced by Sumantu at the very beginning of Bhav. I. 48. As Bhav. I. 48-49, which deal with the method of Sun-worship in Saptamī-vrata, are imbued with Tantric elements, and as Sāmba-p., chaps. 1-15, 16 (verses 1-24), 18-21, 24-38 and 46, being remarkably free from Tantric elements, must have been written at a time when the cult of the Sun was still immune from Tantricism, it is sure that the Bhaviṣya-p. incorporated the verses of the Sāmba-p. at a time when the method of Sun-worship was being influenced by Tantricism.

(8) The same verses of the Sāmba-p. occur in three different places of the Bhāviṣya-p., viz.,

Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
chap. 8 (except verse 13b)	=	I. 54. 2-14;
chap. 8, verses 1-11a	=	I. 78. 43b-53a;
chap. 8, verses 1-4a, 5 and 6b-7	=	I. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.

(9) Sāmba-p., chap. 9 gives the etymological meanings (dhātv-artha-nigama) of the Sun's different names in verses 15-43 and then says:—

apy ekaṃ vetti yo nāma dhātvarthanigamai raveḥ/
sa rogair varjitaḥ sarvaiḥ sadyaḥ pāpāt pramucyate// (verse 57).

Bhav. I. 78 (which has a large number of verses in common with Sāmba-p., chap. 9) contains the verses 'apy ekaṃ vetti yo nāma' etc. but lacks the verses on the etymological meanings of the Sun's different names.

(10) In verse 23 of Bhav. I. 79 Nārada proposes to speak of the offspring of the Sun and says that the Sun begot three children on Saṃjñā, but in verses 24ff. he goes on narrating the story of Saṃjñā abruptly from her residence in her father's house for one thousand years before she started for the Northern Kuru country. It is to be

noted that although the whole of Sāmba-p., chap. 10, and the large majority of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 11, are found to occur in Bhav. I. 79, the Bhaviṣya-p. remarkably lacks Sāmba-p. 11. 2-12a which state why Saṃjñā determined to go to her father's house without informing the Sun and how she created Chāyā for the purpose and left her in charge of her husband and children.

(11) In Bhav. I. 53, in which Brahmā speaks to Rudra and which has the large majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 20-21, verse 50b reads 'viṣṇur bhavān ahaṃ rudraḥ pūjayāma (v.l. 'pūjayanti' and 'pūjayāmaḥ') niśā-kṣaye' in place of 'brahmā viṣṇuś ca rudraś ca pūjayanti niśā-kṣaye' of verse 23b of Samba-p. 20 (in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba on the names of the towns surrounding the Meru, the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru, and the names of the different gods who worship the Sun at different times).

(12) Sāmba-p. 35. 2b-3a (yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syād devasya kathito mayā/sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ//) refers to Sāmba-p., chap. 29 (dealing with the characteristics of the Sun's image, the construction of Sun-temples, and the position of the image of the Sun as well as of those of the Sun's attendant deities in these temples). But Bhav. I. 58, which contains almost all the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 35, omits the lines 'yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt' etc. but retains the line 'sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ'[96] which is meaningless without the first line (yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt etc.). The cause of this omission is that in the Bhaviṣya-p. there is no chapter (preceding chap. 58) to which the line 'yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt' may refer and that the verses of Sāmba-p. 29, which deal with the position of the Sun's image and of those of his attendant deities in the Sun-temple, have been inserted in the Bhaviṣya-p. as late as in chap. 130.

(13) Sāmba-p. 35. 3b (dyaur mahī deva-mūrtisthe yathā-pūrvaṃ prakīrtite) refers to Sāmba-p. 10. 4ff. (in which the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nikṣubhā have been identified with Dyauḥ and Pṛthivī respectively), but this line, as retained in Bhav. I. 58. 24b (dyaur

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[96] See Bhav. I. 58. 24a.

mahī ca dvimūrtisthe yathāpūrvaṃ pratiṣṭhite), has no preceding chapter to refer to, and the verses of Sāmba-p. 10, to which it might refer, have been inserted as late as in Bhav. I. 79.

(14) Though in Bhav. I. 58 Brahmā speaks to Rudra, line 32b (which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 35. 10a) runs as follows:—yathokta-karaṇād rudra sadā śāntir bhaven nṛpa. The use of the word 'nṛpa' in the Vocative Case in this line is unwarranted and proves that the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, because in the corresponding chapter (35) of the Sāmba-p. Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala.

(15) The Bhaviṣya-p. has plagiarised a large number of verses from Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā,[97] viz.,

Bhav. I. 54. 15-16	=	Bṛhat-saṃhitā 3. 21-22.
,, I. 130. 8-37a	=	,, 56. 1-28a and 29b-30.
,, I. 131. 4	=	,, 59. 1.
,, I. 131. 14-18	—cf.	,, 59. 5-7.
,, I. 131. 31b-35	=	,, 59. 8-11.
,, I. 131. 42b-45	=	,, 59. 12-13.
,, I. 132. 26-32	=	,, 58. 48, 47b, 50-52 and 41-42.
,, I. 133. 1b-2	—cf.	,, 60. 1-2a.
,, I. 133. 3a	=	,, 60. 2b.
,, I. 133. 3b-8a	—cf.	,, 60. 3-6a.
,, I. 137. 4-6a	=	,, 60. 14-19 and 22a.

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[97] The Bhaviṣya-p. is taken to be the borrower for the following reasons:—

(1) In Bhav. I. 1. 7 Vyāsa is said to have narrated briefly in the present Bhaviṣya the contents of the Smṛti and other works written by the sages such as Parāśara, So, the present Bhaviṣya-p. calls itself a compilation rather than an original work. As a matter of fact, Bhav. I. 2ff. frequently refer to Manu and have numerous verses derived from the Manu-smṛti. Aparārka and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa even say that the Bhaviṣya-p. expounds the passages of the Manu-smṛti (see Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 1071 and 1076, and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa's com. on Manu-smṛti XI. 73, 74, 76 and 101),

(2) The peculiar metre, which Varāhamihira uses in many of the chapters of his Bṛhat-saṃhitā, is found only in some of those verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. which are common with the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. There are two verses (viz., Bhav. I. 137. 3 and 6b-7a) which, though written in this peculiar metre, do not occur in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. Of these, the former (i.e. verse 3) is introductory and the latter is concluding to verses 4-6a (=Bṛhat-saṃhitā 60. 14-19 and 22a).

But in the Sāmba-p. there is not even a single line which has its parallel in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā, although almost all the verses of chaps. 8 and 29-31 of the Sāmba-p. are found to occur in the above-mentioned chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz.,

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 8 (except verse 13b)	=I. 54. 2-14;
,, 29 (except verses 1-7, 20a)	=I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b;
,, 30 (except verses 28b-29, 31b)	=I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b-30, 36-41, 46-47;
,, 31	=I. 132. 1-24;
,, 32, verse 1a	=I. 133. 1a.

On the other hand, Bhav. I. 24-28, though dealing with the physical characteristics of men and women (strī-puruṣa-sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa), betray no influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (which deals with

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(3) A great scholar and astronomer like Varāhamihira cannot be expected to have plagiarised verses from the Bhaviṣya-p., especially when we consider that although in Bṛhat-saṃhitā 1. 2 Varāhamihira says that he has treated in an easy style the same subject-matter as was revealed by the former seers, he refers very often, by name, to the authors of those works from which he has taken verses, and that the extant Purāṇas, which are often called compilations (saṃhitā), are found to have incorporated verses or even complete chapters from standard Sanskrit works on different subjects.

Hence it is sure that the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed the verses from the Bṛhat-saṃhitā.

Regarding the mutual relation between the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Bṛhat-saṃhitā, Nagendra Nath Vasu says that the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (60. 19) quotes the verse 'viṣṇor bhāgavatān magāṃś ca savituḥ etc.' from the Bhaviṣya-p. (see Vasu, Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. I, p. v, foot-note 1). It is evident that Vasu jumped into his conclusion on the basis of only the above-mentioned verse (viṣṇor bhāgavatān), and that he was quite unconscious of the numerous coincidences between the Bṛhat-saṃhitā and the Bhaviṣya-p. So, his view can safely be rejected.

Vasu's view has been repeated by J. N. Farquhar in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India (p. 153), but the latter says "......the śloka may have been in common use; we cannot be sure that it is quoted from the Purāṇa by Varāha Mihira". (See Outline, p. 153, foot-note 2).

the same topics in chaps. 68-70). So, it is evident that the chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., which deal with the story of Sāmba, were originally taken from the Sāmba-p. and improved with verses from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and then added to the Bhaviṣya-p.

(16) In Bhav. I. 66 Sumantu, being asked by Śatānīka to speak on the glory of the Sun, narrates the interlocution between the sage Śaṅkha and a Brahmin; and in this interlocution Śaṅkha says:

> "imam arthaṃ vasiṣṭhena pṛṣṭaḥ sāmbo yathā purā/
> sa covāca vasiṣṭhāya tad ahaṃ kathayāmi te//"

This seems to be a reference to the Sāmba-p. in which Vasiṣṭha narrates the story of Sāmba to king Bṛhadbala.

(17) In Bhav. I. 78. 58-60 (=Sāmba-p. 9. 5b-8a) the names of the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are as follows:—

Viṣṇu, Aryaman, Vivasvat, Aṃśumat, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Indra, Dhātṛ, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ.

But in Bhav. I. 65. 26b-29 the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are the following:—

Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Vivasvat, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Iṣu, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu.

(18) In Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 16-22a and 24-25) we are told that after regaining his former physical beauty Sāmba approached Nārada and asked him which Brahmins were fit for worshipping the Sun's image established by himself. Nārada said that no twice-born of any worth could be prevailed upon to worship the image and accept its property, because by such acceptance they would be regarded as apāṅkteya Devalaka Brahmins. So, Nārada advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun who alone was able to give him necessary information in this matter. Next, in Bhav. I. 139, verses 9b-69 (none of which, except the first half of 10b, is found in the Sāmba-p.) we see that Nārada also gave an alternative suggestion to Sāmba saying: "Or, Oh tiger in the family of Yadu, go to Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire"[98]. Consequently, Sāmba approached

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[98] Bhav. I. 139. 9b-10a.

Gauramukha and requested him to accept the huge temple (vipulaṃ gṛham) as well as the property that was donated by Sāmba to the Sun's image established there by himself. But Gauramukha declined saying that he could not lower himself to the status of apāṅkteya Devalaka Brahmins by accepting the property of the image. Next, being asked by Sāmba as to whether he saw or heard of any Brahmin to whom these things might be given, Gauramukha spoke of the 'Magas', whom he described as descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss)[99]. About the origin of this Jaraśabda, Gauramukha narrated the following story.

Due to a curse of the Sun, his wife Nikṣubhā was born in a human form as the daughter of the sage Ṛjiśvan[99a] (more often called Ṛjihva, and once Sujihva) of the Mihira *gotra*. Ṛjiśvan named her Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī according to some Mss),[100] and the latter 'was to sport with Fire according to her father's command' (pitur niyogāt sā kanyā viharej jātavedasam—Bhav. I. 139. 36b)[101]. Accordingly, the Fire was kindled (samiddhaḥ)[102] by her. Now, once the Sun chanced to see Hāralīlā and was attracted by her youthful beauty. Finding no other means of enjoying her person, he entered fire[103];

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[99] Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 30. The Bodleian Ms reads 'jalagaṃvu.'—See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

[99a] The Ṛg-veda names one Ṛjiśvan (almost undoubtedly a king) in a number of verses, two of which (viz., Ṛg-veda IV. 16. 13 and V. 29. 11) call him a 'Vaidathina' (a son or descendant of Vidathin) and one (viz., Ṛg-veda X. 99.11), an 'Auśija' (a son or descendant of Uśija). As there is no possibility of Vaidathina Ṛjiśvan and Auśija Ṛjiśvan of the Ṛg-veda being different persons, it seems that Ṛjiśvan was the son or descendant of Vidathin belonging to the family of Uśija. (See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 161). In Ṛg-veda VI. 20.7 Ṛjiśvan has been called 'a donor of (sacrificial) gifts'.

[100] See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 32b. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 30.

[101] This shows that Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī) was betrothed by her father to the Fire god, who alone was thus entitled to enjoy her person.

[102] The word 'samiddhaḥ' may also mean 'excited amorously'.

[103] In the verses

anayāvahṛto yo 'yaṃ pāvako deva-pūjitaḥ/
vanam āviśya tanvaṅgīṃ bhajeyaṃ loka-pūjitām//
iti saṃcintya deveśaḥ sahasrāṃśur divaspatiḥ/
viveśa pāvakaṃ vīra tat-putraś cābhavat tadā//

and Hāralīlā also transgressed the kindled Fire and met the Sun. Seeing that Hāralīlā transgressed himself, the Fire, which was kindled by Hāralīlā, became enraged. He assumed his own form and said under the inspiration of the Sun (nodito bhāskareṇa tu), "As you have superseded me by violating the Vedic injunctions, the son, who will be born to you, will be famous under the name of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss) and will be the perpetuator of his family and the multiplier of fame (vaṃśa-kīrti-vivardhanaḥ)[104]. (His descendants) will be called Magas, because of (his) origin from fire; they will also be known as dvijātis (twice-born) for (his) origin from Soma, and as Bhojakas for (his) origin from Āditya. All these will be called divine". Saying this the Sun (who resided in the Fire) vanished.[105] The sage Ṛjiśvan knew, through meditation, about Hāralīlā's pregnancy. He deemed himself lowered[106] and cursed Hāralīlā saying: "Oh extremely fortunate (girl), as, due to the fault of yourself who have become passionate, the foetus has been generated in you under the cover of fire, it will become dishonourable (apūjya)". Being aggrieved, Hāralīlā prayed to the Sun for raising her child to an honourable position. The Sun took the

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(Bhav. I. 139. 39-40) the word 'vanam' must be a wrong reading for 'enam'. Aufrecht's Ms reads 'etam' for 'vanam'.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

[104] In the printed edition, Bhav. I. 139. 43b ff. read as follows:—

vedoktaṃ vidhim utsṛjya yathāhaṃ laṅghitas tvayā/
tasmān mattaḥ samutpanno na ca putro bhaviṣyati//
jaraśabda iti khyāto vaṃśa-kīrti-vivardhanaḥ/
agni-jātyā magāḥ proktāḥ soma-jātyā dvijātayaḥ//
etc. etc.

But with these readings the above lines do not give any clear meaning, and the third line remains unconnected. So, we are to accept the text of the second line as given in Aufrecht's Ms., viz., tasmāt sa tu samutpannas tava putro bhaviṣyati.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

[105] The printed ed. reads:—

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntaradhīyata

(Bhav. I. 139. 46a). But Aufrecht's Ms reads:—

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntardadhe 'gnimān

(see Bod. Cat., p. 33a). The latter reading seems to be better.

[106] Cf. patitaḥ syān mahātejā ṛjihvaḥ sumahāmātiḥ.

form of fire and said that though he did not like to make Ṛjiśvan's words futile, he would make her disreputable son worthy of respect and versed in the Vedas, that her son would have as his descendants such teachers of the Vedas as Vasiṣṭha and others who would sing the Sun's praise, worship the Sun and fire with devotion, observe the solar vows, have matted hair and beards, carry a pūrṇaka in their right hand and a 'varśmā'[107] in their left, cover their face with a veil called 'patidāna'[108], and, being purified by these and other practices, attain the Sun's proximity, and that even those who would worship the Sun without observing any rule or using any *mantra* out of ignorance or displeasure, would delight in the presence of the Sun. The Sun then vanished.

Thus, Gauramukha said, 'the Bhojakas came into being'. Gauramukha advised Sāmba to give the town as well as the gifts to these Bhojakas. At the request of Sāmba to tell him where these great sons of the Sun called Bhojakas lived, Gauramukha intimated his ignorance in this matter and advised him to take recourse to the Sun.

Then in Bhav. I. 139. 70-81 and 83-97 (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 26-49 and 50b-52) we are told that Sāmba approached the Sun, bowed down to him, and asked him: "Who will perform your worship?" Being thus questioned by Sāmba, the Sun spoke of the Magas, Magagas, Gānagas (or Mānasas) and Mandagas of Śāka-dvīpa, who, he said, were produced by Viśvakarman from his rays,[109] to whom he imparted the four Vedas, and who were given to his worship. At the Sun's advice Sāmba went to Śāka-dvīpa and brought eighteen families (aṣṭādása kulāni) of Magas to Mitravana.

A careful comparison between the above contents of the three parts of Bhav. I. 139 shows that the third part is a direct continuation of the first, and that the second part (viz., Bhav. I 139. 9b-69), which is not found in the Sāmba-p., differs on many points from the first and the third. For instance, Sāmba's question 'kas te pūjāṃ kariṣyati' to the Sun in Bhav. I. 139. 70b follows from the conversation between Sāmba and Nārada in Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a but does not agree with Bhav. I. 139. 69 in which Gauramukha says:

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[107] The printed ed. wrongly reads 'varma'.—Bhav. I. 139. 60a.

The 'varśmā' (or Barsom,—Avestan 'baresma') is a bundle of twigs held by Magian priests during Sun-worship.

[108] This veil is called 'paitidāna' in the Avesta.

[109] tejasas te madīyasya nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā.—Bhav. I. 139. 76b.

"nāhaṃ jāne mahābāho vasante yatra vai magāḥ/
ravis taj jānate vīra tasmāt taṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja//";

and in Bhav. I. 139. 76b the Magas, Magagas etc. are said to have been produced by Viśvakarman from the Sun's rays, whereas in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 a different origin of the Magas is given.

Just like the Bhaviṣya-p., the present Brahma-p. also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., viz.,

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.
Chap. 29 (except verses 1-2, 6b-7a, 9b and 25b	=	Chap. 38 (except verses 1-2, 34a and 53b);
,, 30, verses 2b-21	=	,, 2, verses 2a and 3-21;
,, 30, verses 22-23a, 24-42a, 44	=	,, 4, verses 3-18 and 20-24;
,, 30, verses 45, 60a, 62-65, 75a, 76-86, 88-92	=	,, 5, verses 1-20, 21b-23a, 24-30, 31b-39;
,, 31, verses 1-14a	=	,, 8, verses 1-13;
,, 31, verses 14b-27	=	,, 9, verses 1-13a and 14;
,, 31, verses 29b-38	=	,, 25, verses 3b-12;
,, 32, verses 50-54, 55b-67a, 68a, 69-73, 75a (partly), 76-79 and 81	=	,, 11, verses 1b-2a, 3b-5a, 9-11, 12b-16a, 19-31, 32a(partly), 34b-38,41;
,, 32, verses 89a, 90-92, 93b-94, 95b-105, 106-108	=	,, 12, verses 5a, 9a, 11-20, 22-26; 11, verses 42-43; 12, verse 27;
,, 33, verses 1-22a and 23-31	=	,, 14, verses 1, 4-17a, 18-24a and 26-34.

That the above verses of the Brahma-p. originally belonged to some other source is shown by the fact that though in Brahma-p., chap. 28 Brahmā begins, at the request of the sages, to describe the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka situated in Utkala (or Oḍradeśa) on the northern shore of the salt-ocean[110], in chaps. 29-33 he is found to describe Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit mostly in the same verses as found in the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p., no mention being made by him of Koṇāditya (or Koṇārka), of Utkala (or Oḍradeśa), or of the ocean in these chapters. A comparison between the above-mentioned chapters of the Brahma-p., on the one hand, and those chapters of the Sāmba and the Bhaviṣya-p. which have verses in common with the Brahma-p., on the other, shows definitely that the Brahma-p. borrowed these common verses from the Sāmba-p. For instance, many verses are found common to Brahma-p. 29, Sāmba-p. 38 and Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93; and a textual comparison between these chapters shows that Brahma-p. 29 agrees much more with Sāmba-p. 38 than with Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93.[111]

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[110] Brahma-p. 28, verses 1-2 (........dakṣiṇodadhi-saṃsthitaḥ/ oḍradeśa iti khyātaḥ....../ / samudrād uttaraṃ tāvat.........), 11 (lavaṇasyodadhes tīre......), 19-20, 56 and 64 (koṇārkasyodadhes tīre.........).

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[111] The nature of agreement will be evident from the following table.

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
29. 1-2	=	—	=	—
—	=	38. 1-2	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 1.
29. 3a	=	38. 3a	=	—
29. 3b-4a	=	38. 3b-4a	=	I. 80. 2.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 3-8.
29. 4b-6a	=	38. 4b-6a	=	—
29. 6b-7a	=	—	=	—
29. 7b-9a	=	38. 6b-8a	=	—
29. 9b	=	—	=	—
29. 10-12	=	38. 8b-11a	=	—
29. 13a	=	38. 12a	=	—
29. 13b	=	38. 12b	=	—
29. 14a	=	38. 11b	=	—
29. 14b-17	=	38. 13-16a	=	—
29. 18-20	=	38. 16b-19a	=	I. 80. 9-11.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 12-13.
29. 21	=	38. 19b-20a	=	I. 80. 14.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 15.
29. 22a	=	38. 20b	=	I. 80. 16a.
29. 23-25b	=	38. 21b-23	=	I. 80. 16b-18.
29. 25b	=	—	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 19.
29. 26	=	—	=	I. 80. 20.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 21-36.

Similarly, the text of Brahma-p., chap. 30 follows much more that of Sāmba-p. 2 and 4-5 than of Bhav. I. 66, 74 and 67. The arrangements of those chapters of the Brahma, Sāmba and Bhaviṣya-p. in which the common verses occur,[112] also point to the Sāmba-p. as the source of the Brahma.

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
29. 27-29a	=	38. 24-26a	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 1.
29. 29b-31a	=	38. 26b-28a	=	I. 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a.
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 4-15a.
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 15b-18.
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 1-2.
29. 31b	=	38. 28b	=	I. 82. 3a.
—	=	—	=	I. 82. 3b-5.
29. 32a	=	38. 29a	=	I. 82. 6a.
29. 32b-35	=	38. 29b-32	=	—
etc.		etc.		etc.

The text of the Brahma-p. follows that of the Sāmba-p. not only in the number of verses but also in their readings. For instance,

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
38.3b-deva-pūjā-phalaṃ	I. 80.2a-sūrya-pūjā-phalaṃ	29.3b-deva-pūjā-phalaṃ.
38.4a-praṇipāte namaskāre tathā caiva pradakṣiṇe	I. 80.2b-praṇipāte phalaṃ yac ca gīta-vādye ca yat phalam	29.4a-same as in the Sāmba-p.
38.16b-pūjayā ca vivasvataḥ	I. 80.9a-pūjayā ca naro raveḥ	29.18a-pūjayāpi vivasvataḥ
38.17b-bhūmyāṃ namaskāraṃ karoti yaḥ	I. 80.10a-bhūmau namaskāra-paro raveḥ	29.19a-same as in the Sāmba-p.
38.19a-sapta-dvīpā vasundharā	I. 80.11b-sapta-dvīpā bhaven mahī	29.20b-same as in the Sāmba-p.
etc.	etc.	etc.

For those few cases in which particular verses or readings of the Brahma-p. are found in the Bhaviṣya-p. and not in the Sāmba, the changes undergone by the Sāmba-p. are to be held responsible.

[112] The corresponding chapters in these three Purāṇas are the following:—

Brahma-p.	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 29	Chap. 38	I. 80-82 and 93.
,, 30	Chaps. 2, 4 and 5	I. 66, 74 and 67.
,, 31	,, 8, 9 and 25	I. 54 (or 78 or 161), 78 and 128.
,, 32	,, 11 and 12	I. 79 and 121.
,, 33	Chap. 14	I. 123.

Note that most of the chapters of the Sāmba-p., which correspond to Brahma-p. chaps. 29-33, follow their preceding ones in regular succession.

The Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Brahma-p. The corresponding chapters of these four Purāṇas in which the common verses occur are the following :—

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
Chaps. 11-12	Chaps. 10-13 and 15	I. 79 and 121-123	Chap. 32.
Chaps. 100-101	Chaps. 4 (slightly), 3 and 9	I. 72-73 and 78	Chap. 31.
Chaps. 128 and 240	Chap. 25	I. 128	Chap. 31.

A comparison between the texts of these corresponding chapters shows that the text of the Skanda-p. is based mainly on that of the Bhaviṣya but is sometimes supplemented by that of the Brahma-p., as the following table will indicate.

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,		Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.		Brahma-p.
11. 62-75	=	10. 4b-17	=	I. 79. 4b-87	=	—
11. 76	=	—	=	—	=	—
11. 77-80a	=	10. 18-20	=	I. 79. 18-21a	=	—
—	=	10. 21	=	I. 79. 21b-22a	=	—
11. 80b-85a	=	—	=	—	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 79. 22b	=	—
—	=	11. 1a	=	I. 79. 23a	=	—
—	=	11. 1b	=	I. 79. 23b	=	32. 50a.
—	=	11. 2a	=	—	=	32. 50b.
—	=	11. 2b-3a	=	—	=	—
—	=	11. 3b-4	=	—	=	32. 51-52a.
11. 85b	=	11. 5a	=	—	=	32. 52b.
11. 86-89	=	—	=	—	=	—
—	=	11. 5b-8	=	—	=	—
11. 90-91	=	11. 9-10	=	—	=	32. 53-54.
11. 92	=	—	=	—	=	—
11. 93a	=	—	=	—	=	32. 55a.
11. 93b-94a	=	11. 11	=	—	=	32. 55b-56a.

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
—	= 11. 12a	= —	= —
11. 94b-95a	= —	= —	= —
11. 95b	= 11. 12b	= I. 79. 24a	= 32. 56b.
11. 95c-100	= —	= —	= —
Cf.11. 101-102	= 11. 13-14a	= I. 79. 24b-25	= 32. 57.
11. 103a	= —	= —	= 32. 58a.
11. 103b	= —	= —	= —
11. 104a	= —	= —	= 32. 58b.
11. 104b	= —	= —	= —
—	= 11. 14b	= I. 79. 26a	= —
—	= 11. 15a	= I. 79. 26b	= 32. 59a.
11. 105a	= —	= —	= 32. 59b.
—	= 11. 15b	= I. 72. 27a	= —
11. 105b	= 11. 16a	= I. 79. 27b	= 32. 60a.
11. 106a	= 11. 16b	= I. 79. 28a	= —
—	= 11. 17-18	= I. 79. 28b-30a	= —
11. 106b-109a	= —	= —	= —
11. 109b-110a	= 11. 19	= I. 79. 30b-31a	= 32. 60b-61a.
11. 110b-112a	= —	= —	= —
11. 112b-113	= 11. 20-21a	= I. 79. 31b-32	= 32. 61b-62b.
11. 114	= —	= —	= —
11. 115	= 11. 21b	= I. 79. 33a	= 32. 62c.
11. 116a	= 11. 22a	= I. 79. 33b	= —
11. 116b	= —	= —	= —
11. 117-118	= 11. 22b-24a	= I. 79. 34-35	= 32. 63-64.
11. 119	= —	= —	= —
11. 120-122a	= 11. 24b-26b	= I. 79. 36-38a	= 32. 65-67a.
11. 122b	= —	= —	= 32. 67b.
11. 123	= —	= —	= —
11. 124a	= 11. 26c	= I. 79. 38b	= 32. 68a.
11. 124b	= —	= —	= 32. 68b.
11. 125-129	= 11. 27-31	= I. 79. 39-43	= 32. 69-73.
11. 130	= —	= —	= 32. 74.
13. 131	= —	= —	= —

Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-kh).i,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
11. 133-135	= —	= —	= —
—	= 11. 32a	= I. 79. 44a	= 32. 75a (partly).
—	= —	= —	= 32. 75b.
—	= 11. 32b	= I. 79. 44b	= —
Cf. 11. 132	= 11. 33	= I. 79. 45	= —
Cf. 11. 136a	= 11. 34a	= I. 79. 46a	= —
Cf. 11. 136b	= 11. 34b	= I. 79. 46b	= 32. 76a.
11. 137a	= 11. 35	= I. 79. 46c	= 32. 76b.
11. 137b-138a	= —	= —	= —
11. 138b-140	= 11. 36-38	= I. 79. 47-49	= 32. 77-79.
Cf. 11. 141a	= 11. 39a	= —	= 32. 80b.
—	= 11. 39b	= —	= —
11. 141b	= —	= —	= 32. 80a.
—	= 11. 40	= I. 79. 50	= —
11. 142	= 11. 41	= I. 79. 51	= 32. 81.
11. 143a-148	= —	= —	= 32. 82. 88
—	= 11. 42-48a	= I. 79. 52-57	= —
—	= 11. 48b-50	= —	= —
—	= —	= I. 79. 58-61	= —
—	= 11. 51a	= I. 79. 62a	= —
—	= —	= I. 79. 62b	= —
—	= 11. 51b-53a	= I. 79. 63-65a	= —
12. 1·2	= 11. 53b-55	= I. 79. 65b-67	= —
—	= 11. 56a	= —	= —
12. 3-4a	= 11. 56b-57	= I. 79. 68-69a	= —
—	= 11. 58-65	= I. 79. 69b-75	= —
—	= —	= I. 79. 76	= —
—	= 11. 66-67a	= I. 79. 77-78a	= —
—	= —	= I. 79. 78b	= —
—	= 11. 67b	= —	= —
—	= 11. 68	= I. 79. 79	= —
—	= —	= I. 79. 80	= —
—	= 11. 69	= I. 79. 81	= —

Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
—	= —	= I. 79. 82	= —
—	= 11. 70	= —	= —
—	= 12. 1-2.	= I. 121. 1-2	= —
—	= 12. 3	= —	= —
—	= 12. 4	= I. 121.3	= —
11. 149a	= 12. 5a	= I. 121. 4a	= 32. 89a.
11. 149b	= —	= —	= 32. 89b.
—	= 12. 5b-8	= I. 121. 4b-7	= —
11. 149c	= 12. 9a	= I. 121. 8a	= 32. 90a.
—	= 12. 9b-10	= I. 121. 8b 9	= —
11. 150-151	= 12. 11-13a	= I. 121. 10-12a	= 32. 90b-92.
11. 152-163	= —	= —	= —
—	= —	= —	= 32. 93a.
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
11. 197	= —	= I. 123. 77	= —
11. 198-199	= —	= Cf. I. 123.78-79	= —
11. 200b-201	= —	= I. 123. 80-81	= —
11. 203	= —	= I. 123. 82	= —
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Much more striking is the resemblance between Skanda-p. VII.i. 100-101 and Bhav. I. 72-73 and 78 which agree not only in the number of verses but also in their contents. In Skanda-p. VII.i.100 and Bhav. I.72 the sage Durvāsas is said to have cursed Sāmba to become a leper, because Sāmba imitated the uncouth look and movement of the sage; but in Sāmba-p., chap. 3, which corresponds to Skanda-p. VII.i.100, there is no such story of Durvāsas.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different units of the present Sāmba-p.

This Purāṇa not only mentions the Mahābhārata in verse 15 of chap. 1 but also derives the majority of the verses of its chap. 45 (dealing with the story of the origin of shoes and umbrella) from the latter, viz.,

Sāmba-p.		Mahābhārata
Chap. 45, verses 3b-9, 10-25, 27-29, 31a, 32, 34b, 35b-38, and 39 (cf.)	=	XIII (Anuśāsana-parvan). 95, verses 7-13, 15-17a, 19 and 20b-28; 96, verses 1-2a, 3a, 4-8a, 12, 13b-15, 18-19, and 20-21 (cf.).

It speaks of many 'Purāṇas',[113] and refers most probably to the Skanda-p., Brahmāṇḍa-p., Vāyu-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., etc.[114] It knows the week-days, as it mentions Sunday on several occasions.[115] In Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53 Sāmba is said to have enraged the sage Durvāsas and become the object of his curse which brought about the destruction of the Yadu family through a mace (musala) born of Sāmba.[116] The mention of Durvāsas as cursing Sāmba to give birth to a mace is found in Bhāgavata-p. X. 1. 12ff. In the Mahābhārata (XVI. 1. 15ff.) and the Viṣṇu-p. (V.37.6ff.) the story of the birth of a *musala* from Sāmba is given, but in both these works Sāmba is said to have been cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, but not by Durvāsas. So, the upper limit of the date of the Sāmba-p. should not be placed earlier than 500 A.D.

Again, the Sāmba-p. was mentioned by Alberūnī in 1030 A.D.[117] Caṇḍeśvara quotes a verse from Sāmba-p., chap. 36 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara; Śūlapāṇi has a few lines from chap. 46 in his Vratakāla-viveka; Halāyudha has three verses from chaps. 24 and 36 in his Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva; Vallālasena draws upon chaps. 36, 38 and 45 in his Dāna-sāgara; and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda has, from chap. 9, a few lines (on the etymological meanings of the names 'Brahmā,' 'Varuṇa,' 'Mārtaṇḍa' and 'Mihira')[118] in his commentary called Ṭīkā-sarvasva on Amara-siṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Sarvānanda quotes from the Sāmba-p. another line[119] which, as Sarvānanda says, was given in the Sāmba-p. in connection with the description of flags for different deities (dhvaja-nirṇaya), but which is not found in Sāmba-p., chap. 33 (dealing with the same topic). Besides these, a few more verses of the 'Sāmba-p.' are found quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 24), Ananta-bhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 519, Gadādhara's Kālasāra (pp. 125-126), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 417), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. ii, p. 644), and Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 417 and 492), but none of these verses is found in the present Sāmba-p. We have already seen that the text of Skanda-p. VII. i, chaps. 11-12, 100-101, 128 and 240[120] is based on Bhaviṣya-p. I, chaps. 72-73, 78-79, 121-123 and 128 and Brahma-p., chaps. 31-32, that the Brahma-p. (chaps. 29-33) has borrowed a large number of verses from the Sāmba-p., and that the Bhaviṣya-p. has plagiarised a large section, including complete chapters, of the Sāmba-p. Now, Brahma-p. 29-33 (on Koṇārka in Orissa) are to be dated between 950 and 1200 A.D.;[121] and the Bhaviṣya-p. must have borrowed the chapters of the Sāmba-p. not later than 950 A.D., because Varāha-p., chap. 177[122] mentions the story of Sāmba as occurring in the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa,' and among the verses quoted by Jīmūtavāhana, Vallālasena and Hemādri from the Bhaviṣya-p. there are some which are common to the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p.[123] Hence the date of the Sāmba-p. cannot be placed later than 800 A.D.

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[113] Sāmba-p. 5.9b—vedeṣu ca purāṇeṣu sāṅgopāṅgeṣu gīyate. The word 'purāṇa' has also been used in the sense of 'old narrative'.—See Sāmba-p. 1.16; 5.33; and so on.

[114] Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-11—

tvayātra kathitā sūta purāṇā bahu-vistarā/
ṣaṇmukhasya kathā cādau punar brahmāṇḍam eva ca//
vāyunāpi ca yat proktaṃ tathā sāvarṇikena ca/
mārkaṇḍeyena yat proktaṃ yad vaiśampāyanena ca//
dadhīcinā ca yat proktaṃ yac ca śarveṇa bhāṣitam/
hariṇāpi ca yat proktam ṛṣibhiḥ samudāhṛtam//
bālakhilyaiś ca yat proktaṃ yac (v.l. 'tac' in Ind. Off. Ms)
chrutaṃ carṣibhiḥ saha//

[115] Sāmba-p. 36.28; 38.26; 46.3; 51.117; and so on.

[116] sāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
bhāvyenārthena cātyarthaṃ pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
prāptavān sumahacchāpaṃ sāmbo vai manujottamaḥ/
tacchāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya pātitam//

[117] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130.

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[118] The line, which Sarvānanda quotes from the Sāmba-p. on the etymological meaning of the name 'mihira', is 'miheti secane dhātur mehanān mihiraḥ smṛtaḥ'. But this line is not found in the present Sāmba-p. That this line once did occur in chap. 9 of the present Sāmba-p. is shown definitely by the fact that though towards the beginning of this chapter the Sāmba-p. first gives the 24 names of the Sun and then proposes, in verse 15, to give the etymological meanings (dhātvartha-nigama) of these names, it actually gives the etymological meanings of 23 names, and makes no mention of the name 'mihira'.

[119] Ṭīkā-sarvasva, p. 20—

tad uktaṃ sāmbapurāṇe dhvaja-nirṇaye—
tālas tālākṛtiḥ kāryo makaro makarākṛtiḥ.

This line (tālas tālākṛtiḥ) has its parallel in verse 38b of Bhav. I. 138 which corresponds to Sāmba-p., chap. 33.

[120] For the comparatively late date of many of the chapters of the present Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, see foot-note 35 under Saura-p. in Vol. II of the present work. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 163.

Thus *the Sāmba-p. is to be dated between 500 and 800 A.D.* As this Purāṇa is mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in Matsya-p. 53 and Skanda-p. VII. i. 2, *it seems to have been composed towards the beginning of this period.* J. N. Farquhar also supposes, without adducing much evidence, that the present Sāmba-p. was written between 550 and 900 A.D.[124]

The above date of the Sāmba-p. is certainly not the date of all its chapters. We have already seen that the chapters of the present Sāmba-p. are to be divided into two main groups, viz.,

(1) chaps. 1-38, 44-46, and 84, and
(2) chaps. 39-43 and 47-83,

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[121] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 153-4 and 156.

[122] For the probable date of Varāha-p., chap. 177, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 105-106.

[123] Bhav. I. 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a, quoted in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p. 415, are the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 26b-28a; Bhav. I. 81. 2, quoted in Kālaviveka. p. 492 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 63, and II. i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmba-p. 31. 26b-27a; Bhav. I. 93. 42a, quoted in Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, p. 681 is the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 55a; Bhav. I. 81. 3, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 27b-28a; Bhav. I. 208. 4-16a, 17-18a, 21-22a and 30b-34a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 687-690, are the same as Sāmba-p. 46, verses 3b-4a, 5b-6, 7-9a, 10-20a and 28b-32; Bhav. I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a and 13b-14a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 724-725, are the same as Sāmba-p. 46, verses 33b-37 and 40-46; Bhav. I, chaps. 55-57 and 58 (verses 1-33), quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 424-440, are very much the same as Sāmba-p.. chaps. 34 and 35; and so on.

[124] Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 205.

and that the chapters of the second group were added to the Sāmba-p. at a later date. We have also noted that among the chapters of the first group, there are a few interpolated ones, viz., chaps. 17, 22-23, 33 and 44-45, and that none of these interpolated chapters, except chap. 33, occurs in the Bhaviṣya-p. So, *chap*. 33, though spurious, must have been added to the Sāmba-p. before the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed chapters from the Sāmba-p. Thus it *is to be dated between 700 and 950 A. D.* The remaining interpolated *chapters, viz.*, 17, 22-23 *and* 44-45, which do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., *must have been inserted after* 950 *A. D.* This late date of insertion of these last-mentioned chapters must not be taken to indicate that all the verses of these chapters were composed at a later date. We have already seen that chap. 45 (dealing with the origin of shoes and umbrella) is composed of verses mostly taken from Mahābhārata XIII. 95 and 96. Chap. 44 also (which deals with manners and customs laid down in aphorisms and which records two metrical gāthās[125], one of which is said to have been sung by Yama) must have been based on an earlier work. As, of these two chapters (44-45), the latter is drawn upon by Vallālasena, and as chap. 45 refers to, and is introduced by, chap. 44, it is sure that chaps. 44 and 45 were inserted at the same time and that this insertion was made before 1050 A. D. It should be mentioned here that none of the early Nibandha-writers quotes even a single line from chap. 44, although it deals with manners and customs (ācāra).

The chapters of the second group do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p. Unlike the chapters of the first group, they are full of Tantric elements. So, they must have been added to the Sāmba-p. after Vallālasena's time; otherwise, Vallālasena would never quote verses from the

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[125] atra gāthā yamena gitā—

āyur asya nikṛntati prajā nāsya bhavet tathā/
ya ucchiṣṭaḥ prapaṭhati svādhyāyaṃ cādhigacchati//

and

atra gāthā—

ākrośaka-samo loke suhṛd anyo na vidyate/
yas tu duṣkṛtam ādāya sukṛtenābhiśaṃsati//

Sāmba-p., so deep his hatred towards Tantricism was.[126] These chapters with Tantric elements seem to have been added before 1500 A. D., because Gadādhara quotes from the Sāmba-p. a line[127] in which a worshipper is directed to perform nyāsa according to the prescribed manner before worshipping the deity, and Mitra Miśra quotes a verse[128] in which people, who have deviated from the path of the Vedas, are advised to take recourse to Tantras in order that they may gradually return to the path of the Vedas. Likewise, Ananta-bhaṭṭa quotes from the same Purāṇa another verse which says, "For the sake of those who deviated from the Veda the lord of Kamalā spoke out the Pāñcarātra (Tantra), the Bhāgavata (Tantra) and the Tantra named Vaikhānasa."[129]

The results of the above analysis, so far as chronology is concerned, are as follows: —

Group I—

(1) Chaps. 1 (except verses 17-25 which give the contents of the spurious chapters), 2-15, 16, 18-21, 24-32, 34-38, 46 and 84.	—Composed between 500 and 800 A. D. (Most probably towards the beginning of this period).
(2) Chaps. 17 and 22-23	—Added later than 950 A. D.
(3) Chap. 33	—Added between 700 and 950 A. D.
(4) Chaps. 44-45	—Inserted into the Sāmba-p. between 950 and 1050 A.D.

Group II—

(1) Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83	—Added between 1250 and 1500 A. D.

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126 For the names of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which Vallālasena rejected wholly or partly as unauthoritative for their Tantric elements see Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 59 and 63-67).

127 Kālasāra, p. 126—evaṃ nyāsa-vidhiṃ kṛtvā tataḥ pūjāṃ samācaret.

128 śruti-bhraṣṭaḥ śruti-prokta-prāyaścitte bhayaṃ gataḥ/
krameṇa śruti-siddhyarthaṃ manuṣyas tantram āśrayet//
(Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 23).

129 pañcarātraṃ bhāgavataṃ tantraṃ vaikhānasābhidham/
veda-bhraṣṭān samuddiśya kamalā-patir uktavān//
Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 519.

(The second group is made up of a few units, viz.,

(a) chaps. 39-41 —on initiation to Sun-worship ;
(b) chaps. 42-43 —on the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean ;
(c) chaps. 47-52 —on japa-yajña-vidhi, mudrā-lakṣaṇa, pūjā-vidhāna, etc. ;
(d) chaps. 53-55 (verses 1-97) —which are originally Saura :
(e) chaps. 55 (verses 98 ff.)-83 —which exhibit Śaiva influence and seem to have belonged originally to some other work).

The original chapters, which are now found in the present Sāmba-p., were not all that constituted this Purāṇa originally. That several chapters have been lost, or rather eliminated, from this Purāṇa, will be clear from the following evidences.

After narrating how Sāmba dishonoured Nārada and became the object of Kṛṣṇa's curse Vasiṣṭha says in Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53—

> "sāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
> bhāvyenārthena cātyarthaṃ pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
> prāptavān sumahacchāpaṃ sāmbo vai manujottamaḥ/
> tacchāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya pātitam//"

"(*Being urged*) by destiny and *by the recollection of the previous* (*event*) Sāmba enraged very much the sage Durvāsas *again* in the same way. Sāmba, the best of men, received a severe curse, (and) due to that curse there was born a mace which destroyed his family". The words 'punar api' and 'pūrvānusmaraṇena' in the former verse show that the story of Sāmba's creation of Nārada's displeasure and his incurring the curse of Kṛṣṇa was preceded by the story of Sāmba's incurring the displeasure of Durvāsas and becoming the object of the latter's curse. But in the present Sāmba-p. there is no such story about Durvāsas. That this story once occurred in the Sāmba-p. is shown by the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72. 14-20) which states that once Durvāsas came to Dvāravatī in course of his wanderings. At the sight of the tawny eyes, extremely emaciated body, and ugly look of the sage, Sāmba, who was proud of his physical beauty, ridiculed him by imitating his uncouth look and movement. Durvāsas was enraged at Sāmba's behaviour and cursed him to became a leper before long.

This Purāṇa then narrates, like the Sāmba-p., the story of Nārada's arrival at Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva, Sāmba's negligence towards the sage, and Kṛṣṇa's curse on Sāmba, and concludes with the verse—

> sāmbena punar apy eva durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
> tac-chāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya ghātitam//
> (Bhav. I. 73. 44).

These stories of Durvāsas and Nārada are also found in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 (verses 12-17) and 101 (verses 1-43) which are the same as Bhav. I. 72 (verses 14-20) and 73 (verses 1-43a).

In Bhav. I. 140.23a Sāmba asks Vyāsa to tell him who the Magas and the Bhojakas were and how they became the worshippers of the Sun (kathaṃ pūjākarā hy ete kiṃ magāḥ kiṃ ca bhojakāḥ). Consequently, in Bhav. I. 140. 29ff. Vyāsa speaks on the Magas and the Bhojakas '*in the same way as he was told about these by Vasiṣṭha*' (cf. yathākhyātaṃ vasiṣṭhena tathā te vacmi kṛtsnaśaḥ—Bhav. I. 140. 30b) and says at the end of Bhav. I. 144—

> "makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā hy ete prakīrtitāḥ//
> dhūpa-mālyair yataś cāpi upahārais tathaiva ca/
> bhojayanti sahasrāṃśuṃ tena te bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ//"

But in Sāmba-p., chap. 27 (in which Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala, and of which verses 1-4 agree with Bhav. I. 140. 20-23, and verses 6-18 and 19b-23 agree with Bhav. I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24 and 25b-26) there is no account of the Bhojakas; and the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced, obviously for the sake of this elimination, by the word 'yājaka' in Sāmba-p. 27. 4a ('kathaṃ pūjākarā hy ete kiṃ magāḥ kiṃ ca yājakāḥ' which corresponds to Bhav. I. 143. 23a mentioned above) and 22b-23 (makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā[130] hy ete prakīrtitāḥ// dhūpa-mālyair japaiś cāpi hy upahārais tathaiva ca/ ye yajanti sahasrāṃśuṃ tena te yājakāḥ smṛtāḥ//). Nay, in other verses also of the Sāmba-p. the word 'yājaka' has been substituted for the word 'bhojaka'.[131] That the word 'yājaka', now found in the

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[130] The printed text wrongly reads 'mayā' for 'magāḥ'.

[131] See Sāmba-p. 30. 22b—brāhmaṇebhyas tato dattvā yājakebhyaś ca dakṣiṇām (=Bhav. I. 131. 36b—.. ...dattvā bhojakebhyaś ca.........);

Sāmba-p., was a later substitute for the original word 'bhojaka' and that an account of the Bhojakas once occurred after Sāmba-p. 27. 4a, are proved not only by the above comparison of the texts of the Sāmba and the Bhaviṣya-p. but also by the fact that the word 'bhojaka' has been retained in Sāmba-p. 27. 3.[132] In Sāmba-p. 36. 36a (= Bhav. I. 143. 37a) also, the word 'bhojaka' is found to occur. As the Bhojakas have not been mentioned in any of the verses preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3a, Bṛhadbala's anxiety to know about the Bhojakas (cf. kiṃ tu cintayataḥ sūryaṃ cintayitvā tu bhojakān) in Sāmba-p. 27. 3ff. indicates that there were verses on the Bhojakas preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3.

It will be interesting here to note why and by whom the accounts of the Bhojakas were eliminated from the Sāmba-p. and the word 'bhojaka' was substituted by the word 'yājaka' in it.

The indiscriminate use of the names 'Maga' and 'Bhojaka' for the Sun-worshippers in the Sāmba-p. shows that this Purāṇa makes no serious distinction between the Magas and the Bhojakas. According to this Purāṇa, a Sun-worshipper was called Maga, because he meditated on the syllable 'म'[133]; he was also called Bhojaka, because he worshipped the Sun with incense, garlands and other offerings[134]. In Bhav. I. 140 (verses 20-23) and 144 also, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 27, the Magas and the Bhojakas are not at all distinguished.

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32. 35b —haviṣyaṃ bhojayitvā tu brāhmaṇān yājakāṃs tathā (=Bhav. I. 136. 44a—haviṣyabhojakāmāṃs tu brāhmaṇān bhojakāṃs tathā); 32. 47a—viprebhyo yājakebhyaś ca tato dadyāc ca dakṣiṇām (=Bhav. I. 136. 67b—viprebhyo bhojakebhyaś ca............).

[132] kiṃ tu cintayataḥ sūryaṃ cintayitvā subhojakān/
jñānaṃ prati tathā caiṣāṃ hṛdaye mama saṃśayaḥ//
kathaṃ pūjākarā hy ete kiṃ magāḥ kiṃ ca yājakāḥ/
etc. etc. etc.

The verse 'kiṃ tu cintayataḥ' is the same as Bhav. I. 140. 22. The Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'tu bhojakāṇ' for 'subhojakān' of the Sāmba-p.

[133] The syllable 'म' was regarded as a symbol for the Sun.—See Bhav. I. 144. 25a—makāro bhagavān devo bhāskaraḥ parikīrtitaḥ. This line does not occur in the Sāmba-p.

[134] See Sāmba-p. 27.22b-23 (=Bhav. I. 144. 25b-26; the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'magāḥ' for 'mayā', and 'bhojakāḥ' for 'yājakāḥ' of the Sāmba-p.).

It is even said in the Bhaviṣya-p. that none becomes entitled to attain final emancipation without acquiring the qualifications of a Bhojaka[135]. But in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 (which are not found in the Sāmba-p.), the Magas and the Bhojakas are described as the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra) who was cursed to be regarded as 'apūjya' (not deserving honour) by the Fire sustained by Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī), daughter of the sage Ṛjiśvan; and in Bhav. I. 140, verses 1-19 and 24-50 and chap. 141 (which also do not occur in the Sāmba-p.) the Bhojakas are said to have descended from those ten of the eighteen Sun-worshipping Magas who were married to the girls of the Kṣatriyan Bhoja family by Sāmba[136]. From these stories of the Bhaviṣya-p., which are mostly imaginary but not without any basis on historical facts, and from the other accounts of the Magas and the Bhojakas as occurring in the common portions of the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p. we make the following deductions:

(i) The Sun-worshipping Magas, who came to India in early times, were, in course of time, divided into two groups known as Magas and Bhojakas.

(ii) In spite of their ritualistic, and sometimes ideological, differences, which appear to have been partly responsible for their separation, the Bhojakas were at first regarded as holy Brahmins[137] as much as, or even more than, the Magas.

(iii) Due to their objectionable activities and matrimonial relations, as known from Bhav. I. 140 (except verses 20-23), 141 and 146 (which do not occur in the Sāmba-p.), the Bhojakas came to lose their position of respect with the progress of time and turned Devalaka Brahmins (temple-priests) attached to Sun-temples. They were hated so much that other Brahmins looked upon them as 'apāṅkteya' (unfit for sitting in the same row with them at meals) and did not take food prepared or served by them[138]. In his Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛti 2. 6 Medhātithi names the Bhojakas as extra-Vedic people having no connection with the Vedas[139].

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[135] Bhav. l. 144. 7a—

nāgatvā bhojakatvaṃ hi mokṣam āpnoti kaścana.

See also Bhav. I. 171-172 in which Bhojakas have been praised, so much so that they have been identified with the Sun himself (tat sūryo bhojakaḥ so 'tra bhojakaḥ sūrya eva hi.—Bhav. I. 172. 51a).

[136] See especially Bhav. I. 140 (verses 7-19) and 141 (verses 4-10).

[137] Cf. Bhav. I. 141. 9a—

bhojakāṃs tān gaṇān prāhur brāhmaṇān divya-saṃjñitān.

(iv) Besides the Sun-worshipping Magas and Bhojakas mentioned above, there came to India in later times other Magas who were the Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster and must have left Iran as a result of the spread of Islam after the sixth century A. D.

(v) The Sun-worshipping Magas did not look upon these Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster with respect. They recognised these new Magas as Brahmins of low status like the Bhojakas, and, in order to win them over to Sun-worship, invented the story of the birth of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, i.e. Zoroaster), from whom both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas are said to have descended. The motive underlying this peculiar story is evidently to impress upon the Fire-worshipping Magas that their religious leader Zoroaster was really the son of the Sun and worshipped the Sun-god in the form of Fire, that they could attain final liberation from bondage not by Fire-worship but by worshipping the Sun through Fire as a medium, and that they were free to retain, to a great extent, their own peculiar practices, viz., use of 'patidāna', holding of 'pūrṇaka' and 'varśmā', having matted hair and beards, offering of Soma during worship, and so on.

(vi) A section of the Fire-worshipping Magas must have been absorbed by the Bhojakas, and this seems to be the cause why both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas have been said to be the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra).

[138] Bhav. I. 146. 1-3—

śatānika uvāca—
ya ete bhojakāḥ proktā devadevasya pūjakāḥ/
nānnaṃ bhojyam athaiteṣāṃ brāhmaṇaiś ca kadācana//
... ...
abhojyatvaṃ kathaṃ yātā bhojakās tad vadasva me//

[139] See Medhātithi's Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛti 2. 6—na hi śākya-bhojaka-kṣapaṇakādīnāṃ veda-saṃbhavaḥ... ..../ evaṃ sarva eva bāhyā bhojaka-pāñcarātrika-nirgranth-ānarthavāda-pāśupata-prabhṛtayaḥ........./.

From inscriptional evidence we learn that the Bhojakas enjoyed a respectable position at least down to the eighth century A.D. Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya and Jīvitagupta II, who reigned in Magadha in the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. respectively, are said to have shown respect to the Bhojaka Brahmins of Magadha and to have made donations of land to them.[140] But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of Brahmins from Śāka-dvīpa called their ancestors 'Magas' or 'Śāka-dvīpī' Brahmins but not 'Bhojakas' at least in Magadha and Bengal. This fact is evidenced not only by a number of inscriptions (such as the Govindapura stone inscription[141] which mentions the Māna kings of Magadha), but also by the Kulaji-granthas and other works.[142] It is clearly for this lowered position of the Bhojakas that the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced with the word 'yājaka' in the Sāmba-p., and this replacement seems to have been made by the people of Orissa who added chaps. 42-43 to the Sāmba-p. in order to glorify the Sun's place on the sea-coast there.

Scholars are inclined to regard the Sāmba-p. as 'a Saura document connected with Orissa'.[143] But this view is untenable. We have already seen that the present Sāmba-p. is originally a work connected with Mitravana in the Punjab and that it is only the interpolated chaps. 42-43 which deal with the Sun's penance-forest in Orissa.

The present Sāmba-p. must have been written in Northern India, and most probably in its western part. With the exception of the rivers Tapatī and Payoṣṇī, all the holy places and rivers, mentioned in this Purāṇa, belong to Northern India, especially to its western part.[144]

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[140] Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 217.

[141] For this inscription see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 59-64.

[142] For the names of many of these works as well as for the relevant extracts from them, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 66ff.

[143] Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 205. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. I, p. xii ; and Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali encyclopaedia), Vol. IV, pp. 545-548. Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 439ff.

[144] See foot-note 62 above.

According to the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. the Sāmba-p. was also called 'Susūkṣma'.[145] A 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' is mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 199. 4-5 as dealing with the story of the birth of the two Nāsatyas (nose-born, i.e. the Aśvins) in connection with the praise of Mārtaṇḍa.[146] *This 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' may be the same as the present Sāmba-p.*, because the latter also calls itself 'bhāskarasya purāṇam' in verse 13 of chap. 1 and contains the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chaps. 10-11. In his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana gives from the 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) a list of Upapurāṇas including the Sāmba-p. and a Purāṇa 'named Bhāskara' (bhāskarāhvayam).[147] So, this Bhāskara-p. of the Malamāsa-tattva must be different from the Sāmba-p. Both Raghunandana and Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the commentator on the Malamāsa-tattva, identify this Bhāskara-p. with the Āditya-p.[148]

D. R. Bhandarkar mentions a Sūrya-purāṇa as known to the Brahmins called Sevaks, who live round about Jodhpur.[149] But as we are quite ignorant of the contents of this Purāṇa, we do not know whether it is the same as the Sāmba-p. or not.

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[145] Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382—

tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyaṃ susūkṣmam iti ceritam.

[146] yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—

ādityasya sutau tāta nāsatyau yena hetunā/
saṃjātau śrotum icchāmi nirṇayaṃ paramaṃ dvija//

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca—

purāṇe bhāskare tāta etad vistarato mayā/
saṃśrutaṃ devadevasya mārtaṇḍasya mahātmanaḥ//

[147] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3.

[148] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—

kaurme—

'anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/'

tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—

'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/' etc.

See also Malamāsa-tattva (Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's edition with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com.), pp. 212-3—bhāskarāhvayam āditya-purāṇam.

[149] 'Round about Jôdhpur there is a class of Brâhmaṇas known as Sêvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Osvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇas and know that their story is told in the Nâmagrantha of the Sûrya-purâṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-purâṇa'.—Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

The whole of the present Sāmba-p. is not metrical. There are portions which are written in prose (viz., in chaps. 39, 41, 52, and so on). Chap. 44 is written in a sūtra form.

We have already seen that the Sāmba-p. has borrowed verses from the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata. It has also derived verses from the Bhagavad-gītā[150] and the Upaniṣads.

Though, as we have already seen, the present Sāmba-p. in its original form was connected with Mitravana of the Punjab, it must have known the other two most prominent places of Sun-worship, viz., Kālapriya and Sutīra. This is evidenced by the verse

"sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe udite rajyate janaḥ/
kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśaḥ//" (Sāmba-p. 26.14) which is a changed form of the original verse

"sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhṇe cātra nityaśaḥ//."

retained in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a. That Sutīra was the same. as Muṇḍīra mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., Skanda-p. etc. and was situated in Orissa, and that Kālapriya was situated on the bank of the Yamunā, will be evident from the following discussion.

According to Bhav. I. 72. 4-6 the three places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa are Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana, and it is only at Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) that the Sun resides permanently.[151]

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[150] See, for instance, Sāmba-p. 5. 20 and 14. 17 (=Bhagavad-gītā 13. 13).

[151] sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvam indravanaṃ (v.l. 'mitrabalaṃ' and 'mitravanaṃ'
for 'indravanaṃ') nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate//
kālapriyaṃ (v. l. kolapriyaṃ) tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam/
tathānyad api te vacmi yat purā brahmaṇoditam//
candrabhāgā-taṭe nāmnā puraṃ yat sāmba-saṃjñitam/
dvīpe 'smiñ chāśvataṃ sthānaṃ yatra sūryasya nityatā//

Though the reading 'indravanaṃ' occurs in the body of the text of our printed edition as well as in the Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat. (p. 31, foot-note 6), the reading 'mitravanaṃ' is undoubtedly the

But in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the Sun, speaking of Mitravana, says:

> "sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ/
> kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhṇe cātra nityaśaḥ//"

"People will ever see my proximity at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and here in the afternoon". Thus in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the names of the three places of the Sun are given as Sutīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana. In Bhav. I. 189. 23-26 Puṇḍīrasvāmin,[152] Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna have been mentioned among the places which are said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas; and in Bhav. I. 55. 27 Suṇḍīrasvāmin,[153] Kālapriya and Mitravana are found mentioned among the holy places from which water should be collected for bathing the Sun's image in its annual worship. In Varāha-p. 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by Kṛṣṇa's curse[154] has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have established three images of the Sun—one on the Udayācala, another, named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the

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correct one; because the name 'Mitravana' has been mentioned in a large number of verses in the Bhaviṣya-p., whereas there is no second mention of 'Indravana' anywhere in the whole Purāṇa. Moreover, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100. 2b-3a, which reproduces the verse 'sthānāni trīṇi devasya' of the Bhaviṣya-p., reads 'mitravanaṃ' and not 'indravanaṃ'; and in the Sāmba-p., the name of the place is given as Mitravana in all cases.

Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'muṇḍāram' for 'muṇḍīram'. But the evidences of the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 100. 3a and 139. 11a) and the Sāmba-p. (43. 41 and 53) show that the reading 'muṇḍīram' is the correct one.

For the name 'Kālapriya' see Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p., Varāha-p. 177. 52, Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11b, and Bhav. I. 129. 17a.

[152-153] 'Puṇḍīrasvāmī' and 'Suṇḍīrasvāmī' are obviously mistakes for 'Muṇḍīrasvāmī'. Cf. Skanda-p. VIII. i. 139. 11 (muṇḍīra-svāminaṃ prātar gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame), Bhav. I. 72. 4 (......muṇḍīram ucyate), and Sāmba-p. 43. 41b and 53b (muṇḍīram).

[154] For the story of Sāmba as given in Varāha-p., chap. 177, see foot-note 87 above.

third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala.[155] So, from the Varāha-p. we get the names of the three places of Sun-worship as Udayācala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.[156] According to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11-12a the Sun resided in the morning at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍīrasvāmin; at mid-day he resorted to the bank of the Yamunā as Kālapriya; and in the evening he remained on the bank of the Candrabhāgā as Mūlasthāna.[157] In Skanda-p. VI.76 also the names of the three places and forms of Bhāskara have been given as Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna, and it has been said that the Sun presents himself at Muṇḍīra after the expiry of the night, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and at Mūlasthāna at the approach of the night, that Muṇḍīra is situated 'in the eastern part of the earth', Kālapriya in its middle, and Mūlasthāna (in its western part) beyond Kālapriya, and that, while residing at Muṇḍīra and Kālapriya, the Sun is also known as Muṇḍīrasvāmin and Kālanātha (or Kālavallabha) respectively.[158] So, according to the Skanda-p. the names of the three places of the Sun are Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.

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[155] Verses 51b-53—

sāmbaḥ sūrya-pratiṣṭhāṃ ca kārayāmāsa tattvavit/
udayācale ca saṃśrito yamunāyāś ca dakṣiṇe//
madhye kālapriyaṃ devaṃ madhyāhne sthāpya cottamam/
mūlasthānaṃ tataḥ paścād astamānācale ravim//
sthāpya trimūrtiṃ sāmbas tu....................//

[156] The use of the names Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna for the images of the Sun situated on the south of the Yamunā and on the Astamānācala respectively, need not confuse us. These names for the images must have been derived from the names of the places at which these images were situated. Similar instances of the use of place-names for those of the images are found in Varāha-p. 177. 54-56 (in which Sāmbapura is mentioned as the name of an image of the Sun at Mathurā), and Sāmba-p. 43. 39-41 (in which 'Muṇḍīra' is said to be a name of the Sun's image established by Manus in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean).

[157] muṇḍīrasvāminaṃ prātar gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame/
kālapriyaṃ tu madhyāhne yamunā-tīram āśritam//
mūlasthānaṃ cāstamane candrabhāgā-taṭe sthitam//

[158] See Sk VI. 76. 1-3, 5, 22, 44-45, 59-60, 71. Of these, verses 3 and 5 run as follows:—

tatra saṃkramate sūryo muṇḍīre rajanī kṣaye/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne mūlasthāne kṣapāgame//

As regards the position of these places, the Bhaviṣya and the Skanda-p. say that the Sun is close to Sutīra (or Muṇḍīra according to the Skanda-p.) in the forenoon, to Kālapriya at mid-day, and to Mitravana (or Mūlasthāna according to the Skanda-p.) in the afternoon.[159] The Varāha-p. also contains clear references to the belief that the greatest benefit was derived by worshipping the rising Sun on the Udayācala, the mid-day Sun at Kālapriya, and the setting Sun at Mūlasthāna.[160] Hence it is evident that Muṇḍīra, Sutīra and Udayācala were situated in the eastern part of India, Kālapriya in the middle, and Mitravana and Mūlasthāna in its western part. Now, Mūlasthāna (literally meaning 'original place'), which is said in the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 12a) to have been situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and in the Padma-p. to have been the abode of Sāmba and which is mentioned in Bhav. I. 189. 24-25 along with Puṇḍīrasvāmin and Kālapriya, must be the same as Mitravana (in the Punjab)[161] which is said to be the ādya-sthāna (original place) of the

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muṇḍīraḥ pūrva-dig-bhāge dharitryāḥ śrūyate kila/
madhye kālapriyo devo mūlasthānaṃ tad-antare//

[159] See Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a cited above, and Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11-12a and VI. 76. 3 and 5 cited in the two immediately preceding foot-notes (157 and 158).

[160] Cf. Varāha-p. 177. 36-38a—

yathodayācale devam ārādhya labhate phalam/
mathurāyāṃ tathā gatvā ṣaṭsūrye labhate phalam//
madhyāhne ca tathā devaṃ phalapriyam akalmaṣam/
mathurāyāṃ ca madhyāhne madhyaṃdina-ravau tathā/
astaṃgate tathā devaṃ sadyo rājya-phalaṃ bhavet/
mathurāyāṃ tathā puṇyam udayāstaṃ raver japam//

(Did the third line read 'madhyāhne ca *yathā* devaṃ *kālapriyam* akalmaṣam'?)

See also Varāha-p. 177. 31-32—

sāmba sāmba mahābāho śṛṇu jāmbavatī-suta/
udayācale ca pūrvāhṇe udyantaṃ tu vibhāvasum//
namaskuru yathānyāyaṃ vedopaniṣadādibhiḥ/
tvayoditaṃ raviḥ śrutvā tuṣṭiṃ yāsyati nānyathā//

Cf. also Varāha-p. 177. 52-53 cited in foot-note 155 above.

[161] For the identification of Mitravana with Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) in the Punjab, see Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 154 ; Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 152 ; N. L. De, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 133-4 ; and so on.

Sun in a number of places both in the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p., and Kālapriya was evidently situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, as the Varāha and the Skanda-p. show.[162] So, the problems, which remain to be solved, are whether Muṇḍīra, Sutīra and Udayācala are identical, and where we are to locate the place or places bearing these names.

We have already seen that in its two lists of the names of the three prominent places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions 'Muṇḍīra' in the one (viz., I. 72. 4) but replaces it by 'Sutīra' in the other (viz., I. 129. 16b). So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Muṇḍīra and Sutīra are identical. This identification is supported by the Sāmba-p. (chaps. 42-43) which informs us that the 'beautiful' (*ramya*) penance-forest of the Sun (in Orissa) was situated on the 'shore' (tīra) of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhi), that the sight of the rising Sun there was deemed highly meritorious, and that the Sun's image, which was established there by Manus, was given a name 'Muṇḍīra'.[163] So, Sutīra (literally meaning 'beautiful shore') must be another name for Muṇḍīra, which, again, must be very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka[164] situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa). In Sāmba-p., chaps. 42-43 the Sun's penance-forest on the sea-shore

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[162] Varāha-p. 177. 52. Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11.

[163] Sāmba-p. 43. 40-41—

tato nāma prakurvanti saṃprahṛṣṭa-tanūruhāḥ/
anena muṇḍitāḥ sarve tena muṇḍita ucyate//
atha kṛtārtha-saṃjñāś ca nigamajñair udāhṛtāḥ/
muṇḍi pramardane dhātuḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ca vidhīyate/
prakarṣād ardayed yena tena muṇḍīra ucyate//

Also Sāmba-p. 43. 53-54a—

ekā mūrtir dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleṣv avatāritā/
pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍīraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt//
na kadācid bhayaṃ śoko rogas teṣāṃ prapadyate/

[164] Though the name 'Koṇārka' does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., the Sun is called 'koṇa-vallabha' in Bhav. I. 153. 50. So, it seems that in later times Muṇḍīra came to be known as Koṇārka because of its position in the north-east corner (koṇa) with respect to Puri. (See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 437).

(in Orissa) has been called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra and once Mitravana;[165] in the Kapila-saṃhitā Koṇārka has been called Maitreya Vana and Ravi-kṣetra;[166] and in Brahma-p., chaps. 28-32 the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka in Utkala (or Oḍradeśa) is called 'sūryasya kṣetram' (28. 10), 'raveḥ kṣetram' (28. 17), 'savituḥ kṣetram' (28. 62) and 'bhāskarasya kṣetram' (29. 1), Mitravana, situated on the bank of the Candra-sarit, has been identified with this holy place of the Sun, and the Sun's devotees, attending this place, are directed to worship the rising Sun there with the three-syllabled *mantra*.[167]

By its mention that in the morning the Sun remained at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍīrasvāmin, the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 11) appears to disprove the above identification of Muṇḍīra with the Sun's penance-forest (called Mitravana) in Orissa, because the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama' is generally used to mean the place where the Bhāgīrathī falls into the sea. But the Bhaviṣya-p., which mentions Gaṅgā-dvāra, Gaṅgā-sāgara (i.e. the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī), Kālapriya, Mitravana and Suṇḍīrasvāmin (which must be a mistake for Muṇḍīrasvāmin) in its list of different holy places and rivers to be named during the bathing of the Sun's image in its annual worship,[168] shows clearly that Muṇḍīrasvāmin and Gaṅgā-sāgara (the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī) do not refer to the same place. So, the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama', as occurring in Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11, must be taken to mean the place where the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa) falls into the sea, because in the Purāṇas all rivers which flow into the sea are called 'Gaṅgā'.[169] Or, it may mean the mouth of the Sūrya-gaṅgā, which is mentioned in the Kapila-saṃhitā as one of the holy places and rivers in Arkakṣetra. In the

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[165] Sāmba-p. 42. 2.

[166] ASB Ms (No. 311), chap. 6.

[167] udyantaṃ bhāskaraṃ dṛṣṭvā sāndra-sindūra-saṃnibham/
tryakṣareṇa tu mantreṇa sūryāyārghyaṃ nivedayet//
Brahma-p. 28. 32-33.

[168] Bhav. I. 55. 24-30.

[169] sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ sarasvatyaḥ sarvā gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ.—Mārkaṇḍeya-p. 57. 30b; Vāyu-p. 45. 108a (v.l. sarasvatyāḥ); and so on,

Padma-p. (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) there is mention of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puruṣottama-kṣetra (modern Puri).[170]

As regards Udayācala, we are not absolutely sure whether it is the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa; because, in his Kathā-sarit-sāgara Somadeva mentions an Udayādri, the abode of Siddhas (siddha-kṣetra), as situated much farther east from Pauṇḍravardhana (most probably beyond Kāmarūpa),[171] and in their description of Kūrma-saṃsthāna, the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (chap. 58) and the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chap. 14) mention Prāgjyotiṣa, Lauhitya, Udayagiri, Pauṇḍra etc. as situated in the east. But the Kālikā-p., which names the holy places, mountains, rivers, lakes and pools in and about Kāmarūpa, including the Ravikṣetra (Sun's place)[172] lying between the river Sumadanā on the west and the Brahma-kṣetra on the east and containing a temple of the Sun, is silent about any Udayācala in or near Kāmarūpa, although it mentions a mountain called Saṃdhyācala of that locality. So, the Udayācala of the Varāha-p. is most probably to be taken to be the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa.

The great popularity of the story of Sāmba as the antiquated founder of the Sun-temple and the Sun's image at Mitravana (in the Punjab) tempted the people of different parts of India to connect their own Sun-temples and Sun-images with Sāmba as the founder. Thus, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 says that Sāmba established an image of the Sun, named Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that the place at which this image was established was called Sāmbapura; according to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 22 the Sun was called Sāmba at Vardhamāna

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[170] See Padma-p., Pālāta-khaṇḍa, chaps. 19 and 21-22. [In chaps. 17-22 there is the story of a king named Ratnagrīva of Kāñcī, who, in course of his pilgrimage, went to Puruṣottama-kṣetra and visited Puruṣottama after bathing at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama.] See also Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā, XLIII, 1343 B.S., pp. 80-81 (for information regarding the presence of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puri).

[171] Kathāsaritsāgara, pp. 67-69. The Vidūṣaka, who went to the Udayādri successively through Tāmralipta, Karkoṭaka and Pauṇḍravardhana in search of the Vidyādharī princess named Bhadrā, is said to have travelled over 60 *yojanas* of difficult (durgama) country, crossed the Śitodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals, and reached the border of the mountain of the rising Sun.

[172] Kālikā-p. 81. 39-53.

(vardhamāne ca sāmbākhyaṃ); in the Brahma-p. the Sun's image, called Koṇāditya, at Koṇārka is said to have been established by Sāmba; and so on. It is for this reason that in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 the third important place, except Mitravana and Muṇḍīra, of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa is called Sāmbapura, the place of Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and not Kālapriya.

The names of Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya, and Mitravana (in the Punjab) as prominent places of Sun-worship were known to the original author of the Sāmba-p. as well as to the interpolator of chaps. 42-43,[173] but the latter was so anxious for adding to the importance of Mitravana in Orissa that he eliminated the lines

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvaṃ mitravanaṃ nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate/
kālapriyaṃ tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam//

from chap. 3 and distorted those original verses of the Sāmba-p. which contained, or referred to, the names of these prominent places of Sun-worship, in order that Mitravana in Orissa might be regarded as the only sacred place of the Sun.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Magian Sun-worship spread at least as far as Orissa even before the time of composition of the present Sāmba-p.

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[173] Cf. Sāmba-p. 26. 14—

sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe udite drakṣyate janaḥ/
kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśaḥ//

which is the distorted form of the original verse 'sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ etc.' retained in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a.

Cf. also Sāmba-p. 43. 36b-37a—

sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ/
nivṛttiṃ yānti sukṛto devakāryārtha-tatparāḥ//

Sāmba-p. 43. 50b—

yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samārabhet sūryakṣetreṣu mānavaḥ/
etc. etc. etc.

(Note the plural number in 'sūryakṣetreṣu').

And Sāmba-p. 42. 53b-56a—

pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍīraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt/
na kadācid bhayaṃ śoko rogas teṣāṃ prapadyate//
kālahṛtkālaprītyā ca madhyāhne ye tv avekṣakāḥ/
teṣām eva sukhodarko hy acireṇaiva jāyate//
sāmba-kṛte pure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udīkṣitaḥ/
ṣadyaḥ saṃpadyate teṣāṃ dharmakāmārtha-sādhanam//

CHAPTER III

THE MAJOR VAIṢṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

In this chapter we shall analyse three Upapurāṇas, viz., Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara and Narasiṃha-purāṇa. All these works come from early dates and enjoy very wide reputation as respectable authorities on Dharma. The other Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, now extant, are of comparatively late origin and limited or localised authority. Those of these works, which have been available to us, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The term 'Vaiṣṇava', as used here, is comprehensive and includes both the Pāñcarātra and the Bhāgavata works. A study of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣads, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, and the Mahābhārata indicates that the Pāñcarātra system originated at a very early period, preached the worship of the post-Vedic deity Nārāyaṇa,[1] and had non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas ahd practices. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata,[2] which is the earliest document of the Pāñcarātras, it is said that the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis, namely, Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, procaimed jointly, on the mount Meru, an excellent 'Śāstra' which was on a par (samita) with the four Vedas and contained one lac of verses,[3] and that, being meant for the populace and their guidance both in activity (pravṛtti) and inactivity (nivṛtti), this 'Śāstra' was made consistent with the four Vedas.[4] Although at present we have got no decisive evidence at our disposal to prove the actual compilation of any ancient Śāstra jointly by the seven sages mentioned above, the very statement that the scripture was meant for the common run of people and made to conform to the four Vedas, is important and implies the originally non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices of the early Pāñcarātras. The Mahābhārata itself differentiates the Pāñcarātra system from the Vedic, saying: "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views."[5] It has been held by some scholars that the above-mentioned 'Śāstra' compiled by the seven sages was the forerunner of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[6] But this view is hardly tenable. The prescriptions of the early Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātras are not at all favourable to the Varṇāśrama-dharma and the Vedas; on the other hand, the influence of the Varṇāśrama-dharma on the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās increases gradually with their comparatively late dates. So, it is more reasonable to hold that the original non-Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pāñcarātras were permeated through the Saṃhitās, while the seven sages' spirit of reconciling their views with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics, Purāṇas and similar other pro-Vedic sectarian works.

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[1] According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Nārāyaṇa is 'the cosmic and philosophic god'.—Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 35. See also S. K. De in Our Heritage, Vol. I (1953), pp. 13-23.

The facts that in the Mahābhārata the Pāñcarātra system is differentiated from the Vedic (Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64), that the Śāstra, written by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis on the mount Meru, is said to have been *made consistent* with the four Vedas (Mbh XII. 335. 40), and that this Śāstra was meant for the populace (Mbh XII. 335. 39 and 29), tend to indicate the popular origin of Nārāyaṇa. Also Mrinal Dasgupta, Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship, IHQ, VII, pp. 346-79.

[2] Mbh XII. 335-351.

[3] See Mbh XII. 335. 27-30 and 39.

In spite of its originally indifferent, and probably also irreverent, attitude towards the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma, the Pāñcarātra system came to be connected even in the later Brāhmaṇic period with the sacrificial religion of the Vedas;[7] and in later times it identified

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[4] Ibid., XII. 335. 29-40—

kṛtaṃ śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānām idam uttamam/
loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmaḥ pravartate//
pravṛttau ca nivṛttau ca yasmād etad bhaviṣyati/
yajur-ṛk-sāmabhir juṣṭam atharvāṅgirasais tathā//

Also Mbh XII. 335. 29a—loka-dharmam anuttamam.

[5] Ibid., XII. 349. 64—

sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ pāñcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā/
jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai//

See also Mbh XII. 349. 1.

[6] Farquhar, Outline, p. 98.

[7] Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., pp. 31ff.

Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu and was affiliated to the more popular worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva through the doctrine of Vyūha.[8] This modified state of the Pāñcarātra system is found in the extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, on the one hand, and in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, on the other. In the last two classes of works, which betray the hands of Smārta adherents of the types of Anāptas, Ārambhins and Saṃpravartins mentioned in the Jayākhya-saṃhitā,[9] an attempt has been made to make the system conform to the Varṇāśrama-dharma as well as to the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta.

Among the Smārta Pāñcarātras there must have been different groups believing in, and adoring, the different manifestations of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). It was probably the members of these groups who, being inspired by a sense of high regard for the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma, compiled Purāṇic works bearing the names of the different manifestations such as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, etc.

In comparatively late periods, a large section of people threw Nārāyaṇa into the background, looked upon Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the object of their devotion, and began to add great importance to his character as a cowherd. They made him the Supreme Being by identifying him with Viṣṇu, often ignored the doctrine of Vyūha, and laid great stress on love and emotional *bhakti* as means of realising this Supreme Being. These people and their followers took Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva to be the Bhagavat and came to be known as Bhāgavatas. In order to propagate their own faith, the Smārta Bhāgavatas wrote several Purāṇic works, in all of which juvenile Kṛṣna of Vṛndāvana figures prominently.

It should be mentioned here that as both the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas believed deeply in the doctrine of ahiṃsā (non-killing), their ideas became the subject-matter of many of the Purāṇic works, which were meant for saving the Vedic religion especially from the onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems. The identification of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu connected the systems of the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas closely with the Vedic ideas and made them favourable for the establishment of the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas. It was most probably for this reason that in later times even Tantric Śāktism had to be infused with Vaiṣṇava ideas.

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[8] For clear exposition of this doctrine see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff. For the older dogma see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the Bhagavad-gītā, pp. 52-55; Mrinal Dasgupta in IHQ, VIII, pp. 68-73.

[9] XXII, 34b-37a. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 203-4 (for the relevant verses of the Jayākhya-saṃhitā as well as for explanation of the terms 'Smārta Pāñcarātra,' 'Smārta Śaiva,' etc.).

The tradition of compilation of a 'Śāstra' by reconciling the sectarian views with the Vedic ones, which is said to have been set up by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis on the mount Meru, does not appear to have died out or failed in inspiring people of later ages to compose similar works for the popularisation of the Vedic views of life and conduct. With the rise and spread of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious faiths, the protagonists of the Vedic way of life must have been actively busy in devising ways and means for creating a favourable field for the Vedas in popular mind. As a matter of fact, during the few centuries preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era the Smārta adherents to leading sectarian faiths such as Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, Saura, etc. compiled a number of works entitled 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Śivadharma', 'Sauradharma', and so on, which were neither Purāṇas nor Smṛtis but were 'Śāstras' prescribing religious and other duties to the respective sectaries in consonance with the teachings of the Vedas. The early rise of these 'Śāstras' is evidenced by the Bhaviṣya-p., in which Sumantu is found to explain the term 'Jaya' to king Śatānīka, saying:

> "aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā /
> viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata //
> kārṣṇaṃ ca pañcamo vedo yan mahābhārataṃ smṛtam /
> saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahīpate //
> jayeti nāma caiteṣāṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ //"[10]

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[10] These verses, which have been quoted in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22 (omitting the fifth line), Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 71, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāsa, p. 17, and so on, are much the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89.

"The eighteen Purāṇas as well as the biography of Rāma; the Viṣṇudharma and other Śāstras, and the Śivadharmas, O descendant of Bharata; the fifth Veda which is known as the Mahābhārata compiled by Kṛṣṇa (Dvaipāyana); and the Saura Dharmas declared by Mānava, O paramount ruler, the lord of the earth;—the name 'Jaya'[11] for (all) these the learned declare."

In another place of the same Purāṇa king Śatānīka is found to put the following question to Sumantu:

> "bhagavan kena vidhinā śrotavyaṃ bhāratam naraiḥ /
> caritaṃ rāmabhadrasya purāṇāni viśeṣataḥ //
> kathaṃ tu vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ śivadharmā aśeṣataḥ /
> saurāṇāṃ cāpi viprendra ucyatāṃ śravaṇe vidhiḥ //"[12]

"In what way, O venerable one, are the Bhārata, the biography of Rāmabhadra, and especially the Purāṇas, to be heard by men, and how, again, the Vaiṣṇava Dharmas and the Śivadharmas in their entirety ? (Kindly) tell (me), O chief of Brahmins, the procedure of hearing (the Dharmas) of the Sauras also."

It is hardly necessary to say that in these verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. definite works on the religious duties (Dharma) on Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and other deities have been meant, and that these works were entitled 'Viṣṇudharma', Śivadharma', 'Sauradharma' and so on.

In the extant Viṣṇudharma (chap. 1) Śaunaka gives a tradition, according to which the topics of this work were spoken out by Brahmā to Bhṛgu, Marīci and other sages, by Bhṛgu to Uśanas, by Uśanas to Śaunaka's grandfather, by the latter to Śaunaka's father, and by Śaunaka's father to Śaunaka. The present Śivadharmottara,[13] which claims to be the latter part of the Śivadharma, says in its concluding

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The Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ' (for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi' in the first half of the second line) and 'nāradoktāḥ' (for 'mānavoktāḥ' in the second half of the fourth line) and gives the alternative reading 'śrautāḥ' (for 'saurāḥ' in the first half of the fourth line). It is needless to say that the reading 'śrautāḥ' (for 'saurāḥ') is wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 37 quoted hereinafter.

[11] It means '(the cause of) victory or prosperity.'

[12] Bhav. I. 216. 36-37.

[13] This Śaiva 'Śāstra', which still exists in Mss, will be examined in another Volume of the present work.

chapter that originally this work was spoken out by Kumāra to the sage Agasti in 12000 verses and that the latter spoke out its essence briefly in twelve chapters.[14] The Śivadharma[15] also states that it was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha, Nandikeśvara and others.[16] So, there is little scope for doubt that Śāstras bearing the titles 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Śivadharma', 'Sauradharma', etc. had been compiled even before the rise of the extant texts of the same titles.

A new situation arose in the country with the unprecedented spread and popularity of Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. In the few centuries following the death of this great emperor Buddhism grew up to be the most powerful rival of Hinduism and gave incentives to the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharma, in which the atheists, especially the Buddhists, have been denounced on many occasions. This work was followed at intervals by the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara. The Sauradharma (which, as the quotations from it in the Smṛti Nibandhas show, was spoken out by Vasiṣṭha and might consequently be different from that declared by Mānava or Nārada) and the Sauradharmottara (drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers) also must have belonged to this period; but they appear to have been lost, no Ms of any of them having been found as yet.

We have already seen that in a verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. the Viṣṇudharma has been called a 'Śāstra'. The extant Viṣṇudharma also gives itself out to be a 'Śāstra' in two places and not a 'Purāṇa',

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[14] The relevant verses are the following:

uktaṃ dvādaśa-sāhasrī (?-sraṃ) śivadharmottaraṃ mahat/
agastaye munīndrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā//
itīha karma-yogasya jñāna-yogasya tattvataḥ/
dharmādharma-gatīnāṃ ca svarūpam upavarṇitam//
ity etad akhilaṃ buddhvā saṃkṣipyāgastir abravīt/
dvādaśādhyāya-saṃyuktam iti sāraṃ vimuktidam//
śivadharmottaraṃ śāstraṃ ... .../

Śivadharmottara, chap. 12 (ASB Ms No. 3852, fol. 88a).

[15] This work also has not yet been printed. It will be examined later.

[16] See Śivadharma (ASB Ms No. 3852), chap. 1.

'Upapurāṇa' or 'Smṛti' even once.[17] Consequently, scholars have been divided in their opinion regarding the true character of this work. For instance, on the strength of the said verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. Lakṣmīdhara takes the Viṣṇudharma to be a 'Śāstra' and includes it among the Smṛti works;[18] and his opinion is followed in very much the same words by Caṇḍeśvara, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Mitra Miśra and others.[19] Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a 'Śāstra' (śāstraṃ ca viṣṇudharmākhyam), which is taken as different from the epics, Purāṇas and Smṛti Saṃhitās.[20] Hemādri also seems to be of the same opinion as Vallālasena, his authorities being the said verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. and another ascribed to the Saura-p.[21] On the other hand, most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas include the name of the 'Śivadharma', thus giving wide recognition to this work as an Upapurāṇa in spite of the fact that it frequently calls itself a 'Śāstra' and once a 'Śivātmaka Dharmaśāstra'.[22] As regards the Viṣṇudharma, it may be said that the Bṛhaddharma-p.[23] names it in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas and that, as we shall see presently, the Viṣṇudharmottara was taken by many to be a Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa. In all the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss both the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been classed with the Purāṇas. Consequently, we have thought it desirable to look upon the Viṣṇudharma as an Upapurāṇic work and not as a mere 'Śāstra'.

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[17] See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105, fol. 260a (nāsty anyad viṣṇudharmāṇāṃ sadṛśaṃ śāstram uttamam) and fol. 260b (iti ... ... śāstra-māhātmyaṃ......).

[18] Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25.

[19] Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22; Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 16; and so on.

[20] Dānasāgara, pp. 2-3, verses 11-19.

[21] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20 (viṣṇudharmāṇi śāstrāṇi etc.) and pp. 539-40 (śivadharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇya-dhīḥ/ so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śivadharma-prakāśanāt//).

[22] In most of the chapter-colophons of the present Śivadharma the name 'Śivadharma-śāstra' occurs. For the name 'Śivātmaka Dharmaśāstra' see the line 'uktaṃ ca dvādaśādhyāyaṃ dharma-śāstraṃ śivātmakam' occurring in chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

[23] We shall see afterwards that this work was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A.D.

As to the character of the Viṣṇudharmottara a similar confusion arose among scholars on account of the facts that this work, as its title shows, professes to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that its claim has been clearly put forth in two of its verses,[24] in which the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been taken to form one complete work known by the general title 'Viṣṇudharma'. It is most probably due to this alleged unity of these two works that Alberūnī considered both of them to be one and made his citations from the Viṣṇudharmottara under the name of 'Viṣṇudharma', that Smṛti-writers are often found to ascribe verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara to the Viṣṇudharma and *vice versa*,[25] and that in some Mss the Viṣṇudharma has been called 'Viṣṇudharmottara.'[26] In his Nityācāra-pradīpa Narasiṃha Vājapeyin regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as a 'śāstra' and as a part of the Viṣṇudharma, and supports his view by citations from the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Viṣṇudharmottara.[27] So,

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[24] Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 35—

saṃsāra-kṣaya-hetvarthe bhāvopakaraṇeṣu ca/
sottarā vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ sāram etat prakīrtitam//

Viṣṇudh. I. 143. 16—

adhīte sottaraṃ yaś ca viṣṇudharmam idaṃ śubham/

[25] For instance, the verse 'ahorātraṃ na bhoktavyaṃ' is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Madana-pārijāta, p. 538 and to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i. p. 437; the line 'dattvā kārpāsikaṃ', which is the same as Viṣṇudh. III. 313. 4a, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Dāna-kaumudī, p. 46; the verse 'upoṣitavyaṃ nakṣatraṃ,' which is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 60. 26b-27, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālaviveka, p. 508, Vratakāla-viveka, p. 14, Tithi-viveka, p. 47, and Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 302, but to the Viṣṇudharma in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 8; and so on. On the other hand, verses really belonging to the Viṣṇudharma have been wrongly ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇapa, pp. 200-201, 202, 210 etc., Kālasāra, p. 151, and so on.

It can hardly be denied that such wrong ascription of verses is partly due to scribal mistakes.

[26] See foot-note 36 below.

As a matter of fact, R L. Mitra and J. Eggeling confuse the Viṣṇudharma with the Viṣṇudharmottara, taking these two works to be one.

[27] Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22—

'bhaviṣya-purāṇe—
aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā/
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata//

... ...

Narasiṃha Vājapeyin is clearly not in favour of recognising the Viṣṇudharmottara as a Purāṇic work. Mitra Miśra also does not include this work among the Purāṇas, although he takes it to be 'as authoritative as a Purāṇa'[28]. According to Alberūnī the Viṣṇudharmottara (named by him as 'Viṣṇudharma') is a 'book' (and not a 'Purāṇa') on 'the religion of God who in this case is understood to be Nārāyaṇa'[29] The present Kālikā-p. (92.2) calls the Viṣṇudharmottara a '*tantra*'. Except in only one most-probably-spurious verse,[30] nowhere does the Viṣṇudharmottara claim, in the body of its text, to be known as a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa'. On the other hand, Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a 'Śāstra' but seems to look upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa;[31] the Bṛhadharma-p. (I. 25. 25) regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as distinct from the Viṣṇudharma and includes both of these works in its list of Upapurāṇas; the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi once names the Viṣṇudharmottara as 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa';[32] in the final colophons of some of the Mss of

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tatra viṣṇudharmottaraṃ viṣṇudharmasya bheda iti na pṛthaṅ nirdiṣṭam/ viṣṇudharmottare—

ete ye vaiṣṇavā dharmā dālabhyena prakīrtitāḥ/
uttaraṃ kathitaṃ tubhyaṃ mayaitat paripṛcchate//'

The former verse is the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-88a, but the latter verse (ete ye vaiṣṇavāḥ etc.), which is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara, is not found in the printed edition.

[28] In connection with Smṛti works Mitra Miśra says in his Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 16—

'evaṃ vṛddha-manvādīnāṃ manvādyabhedaḥ śiṣṭa-prasiddhyādibhir avagantavyaḥ/yāni tu gṛhya-tatpariśiṣṭādīni tāni bhinna-koṭiny eva purāṇavat pramāṇāni/ tathā viṣṇudharmottara-mahābhārata-rāmāyaṇādīny api/'

[29] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 132.

[30] Viṣṇudh. III. 355. 5—

rājā'pi vajro dharmātmā mārkaṇḍeyena bhāṣitam/
purāṇaṃ cintayan nityaṃ nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ/
rājyaṃ ca praśisan nityaṃ prajā dharmeṇa pālayan//

This is the final verse of Viṣṇudh. III. It does not occur in any other Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara known to us.

[31] Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12b-15a).

[32] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. p. 462.

the Viṣṇudharmottara the name 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa' occurs;[33] the Nāradīya-p. (I. 94. 17b-20) says that the Viṣṇu-p. consists of two parts—the Viṣṇu-p. proper (forming the first part—ādi-bhāga) and the Viṣṇudharmottara; in the final colophons of its Khaṇḍas the printed Viṣṇudharmottara calls itself the second part (dvitīya-bhāga) of the Viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇa;[34] in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, pp. 245 and 419 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes Viṣṇudh. II. 52. 47-52a and II. 52. 110ff. respectively with the words 'tatra padma-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottara-khaṇḍe paraśurāmaṃ prati (p. 419—āha) puṣkaraḥ', in which the Viṣṇudharmottara has been taken to be a part of the Padma-p.; in the final colophons of some of its Mss the Viṣṇudharmottara has been connected with the Garuḍa-p.;[35] and so on. From all these it appears that originally the Viṣṇudharmottara was not regarded as a Purāṇa. But in course of time its Purāṇic form and character encouraged people to include it among the Purāṇic works, and the result was that some took it to be an Upapurāṇa, while others attached it, as a part, to one or other of the Mahāpurāṇas.

The above discussion explains our attitude towards the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara. We shall now analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

1. THE VIṢṆUDHARMA

This is an extensive and widely popular work[36] awaiting publication. It consists of more than 4000 verses distributed in 105

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[33] See Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 308 and 326; and List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 22. See also Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16 (No. 550) for a Ms of the Dharmaghaṭa-vrata-kathā which, in its colophon, claims to belong to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.'

[34] These colophons run as follows:—iti śrī-viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇe dvitīya-bhāge śrī-viṣṇudharmottare ... ...

[35] Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 912. Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, i, pp. 1437-39, No. 2111. Burnell, Clasified Index, p. 188 (Viṣṇudharmottara—said to be the Uttara-bhāga of the Garuḍa-p.).

[36] For its Mss see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 764-5

[No. 4099 (Ms No. 1670).—

This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara scripts. It begins with two verses chapters in the ASB Ms (No. 1670), which we have chiefly used here. It has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa, and although it deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of the Vaiṣṇavas and consequently calls itself a 'Śāstra' on two occasions and not a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa' even once, it came to be recognised by many as a 'Purāṇic work, obviously because the later Purāṇas turned into religious books, caring much more for religious matters than for accounts of ancient history.

Beginning, in most of its Mss, with a verse extolling the sanctity of the Bhārata (i. e. Mahābhārata) and, on rare occasions, with a

'nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya naraṃ caiva narottamam, etc.' and 'dvaipāyanoṣṭha-puṭa-ni(ḥ)sṛtam aprameyam, etc.' (in which the 'Bhārata' has been praised), and its extent has been given by Shastri as 4600 Ślokas.

No. 4100 (Ms No. 3506).—This Ms also is complete, but it is written in Bengali characters. Of its two introductory verses the second runs as follows:

namo vyāsāya gurave vedajñāya maharṣaye/
pārāśaryāya śāntāya namo nārāyaṇāya te//]

(2) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1308-9, No. 3604.

[This Nāgara Ms has practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670, its first two introductory verses being the same as those of the latter.]

(3) Weber, Berlin Cat., 338-41.

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of 102 chapters and having practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670 (single chapters of the former being at times split up into two in the latter). It begins with the same two verses as those of the latter and ends with the words 'iti *śrīviṣṇudharmottare* śūcikā samāptā.']

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., pp. 29-30 (No. 1002क) and p. 30 (1002ख).

[Of these two Mss, which are written in Newari scripts, the first is dated Saṃvat 167 (=1047 A.D.) and was copied during the reign of Parama-bhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-bhāskara-deva]

(5) Pandit Devī Prasāda, List of Sanskrit Mss Discovered in Oudh during the Year 1877 (Allahabad, 1878), pp. 32-33.

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of '3000 Ślokas' according to Pandit Devī Prasāda.]

(6) Mitra, Notices, VII, pp. 65-67, No. 2293.

[This is a Nāgara Ms beginning with the same verses as those of the ASB Ms No. 1670 and consisting of 3819 Ślokas according to Mitra. It is dated Saṃvat 1910 and called '*Viṣṇudharmottara*' like the Berlin Ms.]

salutation, in a single verse, to Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, this work describes the occasion of the narration of its subject-matter as follows.

Once Śaunaka and other sages came to see king Śatānīka, son of (Janamejaya) Pārīkṣita, after the latter's coronation had been over. Śatānīka received these sages with due honour and requested them to favour him with the best discourses on Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), through whose grace his ancestors could recover their lost kingdom and the life of his grandfather Parīkṣit was saved from the deadly weapon hurled by Droṇa's son (Aśvatthāman). He described Nārāyaṇa as eternal and boundless and as one who gave birth to Rudra from his rage and to Pitāmaha from his grace. He then expressed his desire for hearing the ways, secret Mantras, service, gifts, vows, fasts or Homas, by which Hari might be worshipped for getting over the miseries of life. Being highly pleased with Śatānīka's devotion for the god the sages praised Śaunaka as a rich store-house of all knowledge and as a lamp for dispelling all darkness of doubt in the three worlds and reqested him to speak to Śatānīka about Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa. Consequently, after briefly explaining the process of origin of the universe from the Supreme Being, who appeared, for the sake of creation, as Pradhāna and Puruṣa by *līlā* and also became Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chandataḥ), Śaunaka referred to the tradition of inheritance of all these topics from Brahmā[37] and narrated the following story:

Once Bramā spoke to Marīci and others about the highest type of Yoga which is capable of leading one to Kaivalya by effecting the complete cessation of the functions of the mind (samasta-vṛtti-saṃrodhāt kaivalya-pratipādakam). But as success in this kind of Yoga requires strenuous efforts extending over many births and as it is often found that one fails to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (viṣaya) even in a hundred lives, Marīci and others requested the god to speak to them on some easier method of Yoga which could be practised with success even by a common man in a short period of time. Consequently, Brahmā spoke on Kriyā-yoga which consists in the constant propitiation of Nārāyaṇa (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) by sacrifice, worship, salutation, service, observance of vows and fasts, gratification of Brahmins, and other acts. Śaunaka said that on the basis of Brahmā's instructions Marīci and other sages compiled treatises (śāstra) on Kriyā-yoga for the good of the people.—(Chap. 1).

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[37] We have already noted that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma (fols. 3b-4a) these topics have been said to have come down from Brahmā to Śaunaka successively through Bhṛgu, Uśanas, Śaunaka's grandfather, and Śaunaka's father.

Next, going to speak on this Kriyā-yoga, which liberates people from bondage, Śaunaka narrated the story of king Ambarīṣa thus:

Being desirous of bringing the duals (dvandva) to an end through Viṣṇu's favour, king Ambarīṣa practised austerities with great devotion. Viṣṇu was pleased, but he would not favour the king without putting him to test. He appeared before the latter in the form of Indra, gave himself out to be the god of gods ruling over the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Nāsatyas, Maruts, Prajāpatis, Sādhyas, Viśvedevas and others, and asked the king to choose a boon. But the latter made it clear to him that he was not eager for having anything from Indra but was trying to please Viṣṇu who ensured prosperity to Indra by killing Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and other demons, by recovering his kingdom from Bali, and by various other acts, and who was the creator, protector and destructor of the universe and the source of origin of the gods forming the triad. At these words of the king Viṣṇu, in the form of Indra, pretended to be enraged and threatened the king with his thunder-weapon. But the latter pleaded innocent and remained unmoved. His unswerving devotion pleased Viṣṇu so much that the god revealed himself in his real form, in which he has four hands and wears yellow clothes, and spoke briefly to the king on the best system of Yoga which is 'nirbīja' and ends all miseries of life for ever (nirbījam atyanta-duḥkha-saṃyoga-bheṣajam). But as this type of Yoga was too difficult for the king, he requested Viṣṇu to tell him about such Yoga as could be practised by people like himself. Consequently, Viṣṇu spoke of Kriyā-yoga which puts a stop to all sufferings of life (kleśa) and advised the king to be devoted to him heart and soul, to worship him constantly with flowers and other things as well as with the offer of highly valuable articles of gold, silver, etc., to think of him incessantly, and to see him everywhere and in all beings. Next, being requested by the king to speak elaborately on this Kriyā-yoga, Viṣṇu (called 'Keśava') referred him to his priest (purohita) Vasiṣṭha, who, he said, would tell him about it through his favour. Viṣṇu then disappeared; and the king returned to his capital. (—Chap. 2). There he met Vasiṣṭha, intimated to him what Viṣṇu had said, and requested him to speak on Kriyā-yoga concerning Viṣṇu-worship. Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Prahlāda thus:

Once Prahlāda, a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, told his high-priest Śukra, the chief of the Bhṛgus, that he found in the body of Nṛsiṃha all the three worlds as well as the gods, goddesses and Pitṛs, and requested him to describe the method of worshipping this deity. Śukra said that if he really desired to worship 'Viṣṇu, the lord of gods', he was to become a Bhāgavata, because no mortal other than a Bhāgavata is able to know Viṣṇu rightly, or to eulogise him, or to see him, not to speak of merging in him.[38] Śukra then spoke on the characteristics and praise of Bhāgavatas (who respect the Brahmins and the Veda, practise ahiṃsā, have their minds absorbed in Viṣṇu in many of their births, and are far superior to the performers of Tapas or austerity and of costly sacrifices), worship of Viṣṇu in images with the offer of flowers, lamps etc., construction of temples for him, and siging of songs, recitation of hymns, and sounding of musical instruments during his worship. (—Chap. 3). Next, after defining 'upavāsa' (fasting)[39] and pointing out its benefits, Śukra reproduced what Pulastya had said to Dālbhya in ancient times on the following topics:

Devotional service to Viṣṇu[40] (—chap. 4); procedures and praise of a number of Vaiṣṇava vows and worships,[41] some of which were described by way of reporting the dialogues of others;[42] Kṛṣṇa's speech to Arjuna on his own identity with Kāla and unity with Arjuna, and also on the names of the principal holy places[43] in which Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped under particular names (—Chaps. 35-36); description of hells in which sinners are punished for various sins, viz., adultery, killing of cows and women, denouncement of Viṣṇu and the Brahmins, and so on (chap. 23); description and denouncement of Pāṣaṇḍas, and the atonements for seeing or touching them or for speaking with them (chap. 25); enunciation of the Apāmārjana, which allays the troubles caused by malevolent rites (viz., abhicāras and kṛtyās), poison, evil Grahas, all kinds of fever and other diseases, and so on;[44] method and praise of besmearing Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung etc. and of presenting lamps there (chaps. 31-32); glorification of gods, Brahmins, Vedas and sacrifices, and denouncement of those who decry them (chap. 33); eulogy of Viṣṇu with the mention of his exploits in different incarnations (chap. 39); muttering of the different names of Viṣṇu (inculding 'Kāmapāla') for security under different circumstances (chap. 40); statement of the causes of rebirths and release (chap. 42).

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[38] na hy abhāgavatair viṣṇur jñātuṃ stotuṃ ca tattvataḥ/
draṣṭuṃ vā śakyate martyaiḥ praveṣṭuṃ kuta eva hi //

[39] upāvṛttasya pāpebho yas tu vāso guṇaiḥ saha/
upavāsaḥ sa vijñeyaḥ sarva-bhoga-vivarjitaḥ//-Fol. 14a.

It should be mentioned that the Viṣṇudharma adds great importance to fasting in Viṣṇu-worship and prescribes it especially to females.

[40] Viz., worship of the deity with fragrant flowers and other things, especially with fast; sweeping, washing, and besmearing of Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung, substances of metallic preparation (? dhātu-vikāra), and so on; offer of flowers, lamps, pots of sesamum, flags, and other things; narration of sanctifying stories; praise of Viṣṇu as the highest god worshipped by Indra, women, Vaikhānasas, Parivrājakas, and others.

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[41] Viz., Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped and meditated upon, and his name to be repeated)—chap. 4; Eka-bhakta-vrata, Dvādaśa-māsika-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped), Kulāvāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (*alias* Śukla-dvādaśī-vrata, said to have been described to Bharata by his mātāmaha Kaṇva), Vijaya-dvādaśī-vrata, Jayanty-aṣṭamī-vrata, Atijayaikādaśī-vrata, and Viṣṇu-snapana-vrata (—chaps. 6-12 respectively); Puṣya-ṛkṣaikādaśī-vrata, Pada-dvaya-vrata, Manoratha-dvādaśī-vrata, and Aśoka-pūrṇamāsī-vrata (—chaps. 17-20 respectively); Naraka-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 24; Tila-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 34; Sukṛta-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 37; Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā-vrata—chap. 41.

Worship of Viṣṇu and his wife under the names of Janārdana and Lakṣmī, Śrīdhara and Śrī, and Keśava and Bhūti in the four months beginning respectively with Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika (chap. 5); Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā (chap. 27).

[42] Pulastya reproduced the dialogues in which

(i) Yājñavalkya spoke to Maitreyī on Manoratha-sampatti-kāraka-vrata (chap. 13), Samprāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 14), Govinda-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 15), and Akhaṇḍa-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 16);

(ii) Śaṃkara spoke to Devī on Śobhana-pati-prāpti-vrata (chap. 21) and Strī-dharma-vrata (chap. 22);

(iii) Vasiṣṭha spoke to Arundhatī on Nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata (chap. 29);

(iv) Maitreyī spoke to Śīladhanā (a sonless queen of Kṛtavīrya, the Haihaya king) on Ananta-vrata (chap. 30).

[43] These are as follows: Puṣkara, Gayā, Lohadaṇḍa, Citrakūṭa, Prabhāsa, Vṛndāvana, Jayantī, Hastināpura, Kardamāla, Kasmīra (?), Kubjāmra, Mathurā, Kubjaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Śālagrāma, Govardhanācala, Piṇḍāraka, Śaṅkhoddhāra, Kurukṣetra, Yamunā, Śoṇa, Pūrva-sāgara (kapilam pūrva-sāgare—fol. 68b), Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama, Devikā-nadī, Prayāga, Vadarikāśrama, Dakṣiṇa Samudra, Dvārakā, Mahendrādri, Arvuda, Aśvatīrtha, Himācala, Kṛtaśauca, Vipāśā, Naimiṣa, Jambūmārga, Saindhavāraṇya, Daṇḍaka, Utpalāvartaka, Narmadā, Raivataka, Nandā, Sindhu-sāgara-saṃgama, Sahyādri, Māgadha Vana, Vindhya, Oḍra (oḍre tu puruṣottamam—fol. 69a).

The corresponding chapter in ASB Ms No. 3506 contains in fol. 61a a few more names such as Kusvāmāḍhya (?), Nepāla, Mandodapāna, Kiṣkindhyā, Kāśī, Viśākhayūpa, Virajā, etc. In this Ms Lohadaṇḍa has been named as Loladaṇḍa, Kasmīra as Kahlāra (?), and Māgadha Vana as Mādhava Vana.

After listening to the dialogue between Pulastya and Dālbhya Śatānīka requested Śaunaka to speak on Dharma as described by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira. Consequently, Śaunaka reported the statements made by Kṛṣṇa on the following subjects: the names of the authors of the Dharma-saṃhitās;[45] hells, and gifts of shoes, mules, clothes and other articles to Brahmins for escaping these (chap. 45); glorificarion of Brahmins as well as of service and gifts made to them (chap. 46); praise of practice of various restraints, such as silence, sacrifice, celibacy, nonkilling, living on roots, fruits or leaves, fasting, lying on the ground, entrance into fire, and so on (chap. 47); description and praise of gifts of paddy, fuel, virgin girls (for marriage in the Brāhma form), gold, cows, footwears etc. to Brahmins, especially to one widely learned in the Vedas—bahuśruta (chaps. 48, 53 and 58-60); enumeration of sixteen cases (including those of such Brahmins as are priests of villages, husbands of Śūdra wives, sellers of the Veda, snake-catchers, and hen-pecked husbands) in which gifts, made, become unproductive (chap. 49); results of insulting or respecting a Brahmin (chap. 50); praise of a Brahmin who regularly repeats the Gāyatrī (chap. 51); praise of *tapas* (austerity) and *satya* (truth), and denouncement of *anṛta* (untruth) (chaps. 54 and 55); fasting and observance of the Eka-bhakta-vrata in different months (chap. 56); elevation and lowering of caste caused respectively by the due performance of one's own Dharma and by neglect of it (chap. 57); praise of fighting bravely and courting death in the battle-field; principles of war (saṃgrāma-praśaṃsā—chap. 61); praise of avoiding meat and practising ahiṃsā (chap. 62).

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[44] In chap. 28 there are the names of a large number of diseases caused by any of the three humours of the body, viz., wind (vāta), bile (pitta) and phlegm (kapha), various kinds of poison, different classes of Grahas such as Preta-grahas, Ḍākinī-grahas, Vetāla-grahas, Gandharvas, Yakṣa-rākṣasas, Vināyakas, Bāla-grahas, and so on.

[45] Viz., those of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Ātreya, Gārgya, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Yama, Jāvāli, Dvaipāyana, Umā-Maheśvara (umā-maheśvarāś caiva jāti-dharmāś ca pāvanāḥ—fol. 89a), Kāśyapa, Bahvāyana, Śakuli, Agastya, Mudgala, Śāṇḍilya, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Uddālaka, Sumantu, Paulastya, Vaiśaṃpāyana, Piśaṃgama, Indra, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Āpastamba, Gopālaka, Sūrya, Hārita, Yājñavalkya, the seven sages (saptarṣayaḥ), and others.

For this list see also ASB Ms No. 3506, fol. 76a-b.

The verse containing the names of Umā-Maheśvara and Kāśyapa does not occur in ASB Ms No. 3506.

Śaunaka then reported

1. Nārāyaṇa's speech to Yudhiṣṭhira on the science of government (daṇḍa-nīti, including the divinity and duties of a king, necessity of daṇḍa, and punishment for different kinds of crimes—chap. 63), praise of devotion to Viṣṇu (chap. 64), and incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha (chap. 66);

2. Bhīṣma's statement to Yudhiṣṭhira on remembering Viṣṇu and muttering his names for allaying the effects of bad dreams (chap. 67);

3. Viṣṇu's enumeration to Lakṣmī of the characteristics of those who become his favourites[46] (chap. 74);

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[46] Such people are those who are given to knowldge of Ātman, avoid hiṃsā, culture universal friendship, feel completely satisfied with whatever they possess, are truthful, upright and compassionate, look upon others' wives as mothers, are completely satisfied with their own wives, always remain engaged in lawful work, do not hesitate to give up their life for the sake of Brahmins, and so on. As regards females, they are to be devoted to their husbands and should culture love and service.

4. Prahlāda's description of the powers of Viṣṇu and his disc, his speech on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga,[47] and his advice to Bali to become a Bhāgavata (chaps. 76-81);

5. Prahlāda's narration, in chaps. 83-91, of what Vasiṣṭha had said to Māndhātṛ on a number of vows[48] and gifts.[49]

Śaunaka further spoke on the following topics: benefits of meditating on and rendering various kinds of devotional service to Viṣṇu (chap. 71); practice of one's own duties as well as of the virtues such as kindness, tolerance etc., and shunning of unlawful work (vidharma) and association with uncultured people (grāmya-saṅga) (chap. 74); building of Viṣṇu-temples, and construction of images of the god with gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. (chaps. 75, 99); description of Viṣṇu as Brahma and the source of the universe (chap. 95); process of origin of the world from Viṣṇu, although he is unchangeable (apariṇāmī—chap. 96); description and praise of Yoga said to have been declared originally by Hiraṇyagarbha (chaps. 97-98); distinction of Yoga into Para and Apara, and their characteristics; description of a Viṣṇu-image,[50] which is to be constructed with gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. or to be painted, and in which Brahma is to be contemplated during worship (chap. 99); description and practice of *yama*[51] and *niyama*[52] and the other means of attaining Yoga (yogāṅga), viz., āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi;[53] detailed discourse on dhyāna; praise of Yogins, who only are said to experience Viṣṇu in his supreme state (chap. 100); due performance or neglect of one's lawful work causing birth in a higher or lower caste; discourses on universal duties[54] and on those enjoined by one's caste or order of life (chap. 101); means of attaining Advaita-jñāna; explanation of Viṣṇu's highest state (paraṃ rūpam) and his birth in parts on earth (chaps. 102-103); measurement of time by kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta etc.; duration of *yugas*; state of Dharma and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's appearance in different forms (including Kalkin) in the different *yugas* (chap. 104); elaborate description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 105).

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[47] This Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out by Brahmā, from whom it came down to Prahlāda through Svārociṣa Manu, Ṛtacakṣus, Śukra and others. It includes construction of images and temples of Viṣṇu with different materials, bathing of an image of Viṣṇu with ghee and milk on different occasions, offer of various articles (including different kinds of cloth, viz., dukūla, paṭṭa, kauśeya, kārpāsika, etc.) and of select flowers and leaves (including Tulasī and Kāla-tulasī).

[48] Viz., Vikrama-vrata, Viṣṇu-pada-traya-vrata, Śuddhi-vrata, and Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata *alias* Devakī-vrata (chaps. 83, 84, 89 and 90).

[49] Viz., Go-dāna, Tila-dhenu-dāna, Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna, Jala-dhenu-dāna, etc. (chaps. 85-88 and 91).

[50] The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols. 231b-232a) and 3506 (fol. 166a-b), run as follows:

kāryas tu viṣṇur bhagavān saumya-rūpaś caturbhujaḥ/
salila-dhvānta-meghābhaḥ śrīmān śrīvatsa-bhūṣitaḥ//
ābaddha-mukuṭaḥ sragvī hāra-bhārārpitodaraḥ/
svīkṣaṇaś cāru-cikuraḥ sulalāṭena subhruṇā/
svoṣṭhena sukapolena vadanena virājitaḥ//
kaṇṭhena śubha-lekhena varābharaṇa-dhāriṇā/
nānā-ratnārcitābhyāṃ ca śravāṇābhyām alaṃkṛtaḥ//

For the effective glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva) the Viṣṇudharma has a number of devotional hymns, viz., Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra (chap. 69), Sārasvata-stava spoken out by Sarasvatī (chap. 70), Viṣṇvaṣṭaka (chap. 71), Bali's eulogy of Viṣṇu's Sudraśana-cakra (chap. 78), two hymns for the removal of sins (pāpa-praśamana-stava

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puṣṭa-śliṣṭāyata-bhujas tanu-tāmra-nakhāṅguliḥ/
madhyena trivalī-bhaṅga-bhūṣitena ca cāruṇā/
supādaḥ sūru-yugalaḥ sukaṭī-gulpha-jānukaḥ//
vāma-pārśve gadā-devī cakraṃ devasya dakṣiṇe/
śaṅkho vāma-kare deyo dakṣiṇe padma-suprabham//
ūrdhva-dṛṣṭim adho-dṛṣṭiṃ tiryag-dṛṣṭiṃ na kārayet/
nimīlitākṣo bhagavān supraśasto janārdanaḥ//
saumyā tu dṛṣṭiḥ kartavyā kiṃcit-prahasiteva ca/
kāryaś caraṇa-vinyāsaḥ sarvataḥ supratiṣṭhitaḥ//
caraṇāntara-saṃsthā ca vibhratī rūpam uttamam/
kāryā vasuṃdharā devī tat-pāda-tala-cāriṇī//
yādṛg-vidhā vā manasaḥ sthairya-lambhopapādikā/
nṛsiṃha-vāmanādīnāṃ tādṛśīṃ kārayed budhaḥ//

[51] It consists of ahiṃsā, śama, asteya, brahmacarya, and aparigraha.

[52] Consisting of saṃtoṣa, śauca, svādhyāya, tapas, and īśvara-bhāvanā.

[53] For the definition of 'samādhi' see ASB Ms No. 1670, fol. 233a, and No. 3506, fol. 167a.

[54] These are the eight guṇas, viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti, śauca etc.

—chaps. 92-93), Arjuna's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa (in which many incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy at Vṛndāvana have been mentioned —chap. 35), and many others (for which see chaps. 2, 39, 68, 72, 76 and 103).

In connection with the above contents the Viṣṇudharma narrates a number of stories, one of which is highly interesting and sheds a flood of light on the attitude of an important section of people towards Buddhism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems current in those days. This story, which has been given in chap. 25 in connection with the description and denouncement of Pāṣaṇḍas, runs as follows.

In ancient times the mortals, being pious through the due performance of their duties, could go to heaven at the mere wish, and the gods also grew stronger by getting their due share in the sacrifices. Consequently, the Daiteyas and Asuras could not prevail upon the gods. In course of time two Daiteyas, Ṣaṇḍa and Marka by name, intended to annihilate the gods and performed a dangerous kṛtyā (a magic rite meant for destructive purposes), from which came out a dreadful figure called Mahāmoha, who had a very dark body resembling a mass of darkness and was extremely fierce, haughty, deceitful and lazy.[55] This Mahāmoha was divided by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka into four parts, one of which decried the gods and Brahmins, another discouraged people from practising Yoga, the third engaged them in unlawful acts (vikarman), and the fourth deprived them of their jñāna, made them accept ajñāna as jñāna under infatuation, and took delight in whatever went against the Vedas (veda-vāda-virodhena yā kathā sāsya rocate). Thus produced by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, this Mahāmoha, 'who was *adharma* in person' (adharma-svarūpaḥ) and was polluted by pride and other vices, took his position among the people (lokeṣv eva vyavasthitaḥ) and deluded them in various ways. By his misleading instructions he turned them worthless through infatuation (mohābhibhava-niḥsārān) and made them discard their conscience as well as their respective duties enjoined upon them by their castes. Being mad with their wrong knowledge, these infatuated people set themselves to unlawful

[55] tatrotpanno 'tikṛṣṇāṅgas tamaḥ-prāyo 'tidāruṇaḥ/
dambhādhāraḥ śāṭhya-sāro nidrā-prakṛtir ulvaṇaḥ//—fol. 42b.

acts by defying the instructions of their friends and the learned people, to whom they gave replies with misleading and confusing arguments (prayacchanty uttaraṃ mūḍhāḥ kūṭa-yukti-samanvitam). They turned Pāṣaṇḍins (or Pāṣaṇḍas)[56] and Vrātyas, knew no sacraments, spoke highly of the food received from others (parānna-guṇa-vādinaḥ), caused mixture of castes, did not care for the purification of the body, decried the rites sanctioned by the Vedas—Ṛk, Yajuḥ and Sāma, and preached the doctrine of the non-existence of any thing (nānyadastīti-vādinaḥ). They also spread their influence upon the less intelligent (alpa-mati) section of people and made them discard their own lawful duties and perform unlawful acts. Thus, they led themselves as well as others to hell (fol. 43a-b).

There is another story, given in chaps. 102-103, which narrates the creation of Urvaśī by the sage Nārāyaṇa, one of the four sons of Dharma, the other three being Nara, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. In this story it is said that while Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities (*tapas*) and *yoga* in the Gandhamādana mountain, 'lions, tigers etc. (turned nonviolent and) moved about complacently in that mountain with deer',[57] that, apprehending the occupation of heaven by Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Indra sent Rambhā, Tilottamā and other nymphs with Cupid (Smara, Madana) and Spring (Vasanta) to distract the sages, that Nara and Nārāyaṇa gave themselves out to the unsuccessful nymphs to be parts of Vāsudeva who was catur-vyūha, māyin, and identical with Paramātman and pervaded and comprised all, and that, being propitiated by the nymphs, Nārāyaṇa gave out a laugh and thus showed the entire universe, together with the gods, in his mouth.

The other stories include those of Sāmbharāyaṇī's attainment of an extremely long life by performing the Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā, and her narration to Indra and Bṛhaspati of the accounts of the previous Indras from her personal knowledge (chap. 27); (Kārtavīrya) Arjuna's birth to her mother Śīladhanā as a result of the latter's observanee of the Ananta-vrata, his worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Dattātreya, and his attainment of paramountcy through his favour (chap. 30); keeping a thousand lamps burning day and night in a Viṣṇu-temple by Lalitā (daughter of Citraratha, king of Vidarbha, and chief queen of Cāruvarman, king of Kāśi), who was, in her previous birth, a mouse in a Viṣṇu-temple (constructed by Maitreya, a Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) on the bank of the river Devikā and chanced to keep a lamp burning there in course of her escape for fear of a cat (chap. 32); Vīrabhadra of Vaidiśa, who, being at the point of death in the Vindhya forest, was found lying on heated sand by a Brahmin named Pipīta (chap. 37); the two Aśvins' meeting at Pratiṣṭhāna with Aila Purūravas, who would not see them without being properly dressed, their explanation to him of the transitoriness of everything on earth by referring to the opinions of Kapila, Pañcaśikha, Magāriṣṭa (?), Janaka, Hiraṇyagarbha, Jaigīṣavya and Devala on the highest bliss (paraṃ śreyaḥ), and their instructions to the king on *karma* to be done by him (chap. 38); appearance of Dharma in the form of a Cāṇḍāla, and his instructions to Yudhiṣṭhira on Viṣṇu-worship (chap. 64); Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a Brahmin and meeting with Janaka, and the latter's praise of the former as the highest truth (chap. 65); an elephant's eulogy of Nārāyaṇa and getting free from the clutch of a crocodile living in a lake on the Citrakūṭa mountain (gajendra-mokṣaṇa—chap. 67); a Kṣatriya's turning a Rākṣasa after death, his attack in his new form on two Brahmins, who saved themselves from his hands by citing the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and the Sārasvata-stava, and his going to Śālagrāma for practising austerities (chaps. 69-70); Cedi-rāja Vasu's loss of power of moving through the sky, his consquent fall into Pātāla, a nether world, his self-protection from the hands of the Dānavas, who tried to take his life, and his rescue from there by Viṣṇu (chap. 72); Aditi's prayer to Kṛṣṇa for the safety of her sons and the security of Indra, and Kṛṣṇa's entrance into Aditi's womb to be born as her son Vāmana (chap. 75); birth of Vāmana, and his sending of Bali to Sutala, a nether world, saying that as soon as Bali would go against the Brahmins, he would be bound with Varuṇa's noose (chaps. 76-77); appearance of Viṣṇu's Sudarśana-cakra before Bali after it had been worshipped by the latter to stop the mischief it had been doing to the pregnant wives of Daityas by its passage through the air (chap. 78); Sumanā's dialogue with Śāṇḍilī, a Brahmin woman, who found Sumanā residing happily in heaven with her husband and having an odorous and beautiful body by worshipping Viṣṇu with various articles dear to themselves and by bathing the god with ghee (chap. 81); and king Māndhātṛ's attainment of royal fortune as a result of serving, with his devoted wife, in a Viṣṇu-temple and attending upon Yogins in his previous birth as a cruel Śūdra, who was always bent on doing harm to others, maltreated his chaste and devoted wife, and failed to earn his livelihood by agriculture (chaps. 82-83). In chap. 94 Śaunaka is found to narrate the story of a wicked, treacherous and undutiful Kṣatriya named Vimati as follows: Being discarded by his parents and relatives for his misconduct Vimati used to maintain his family by killing animals. During the summer he met in a forest a sage who was afflicted with thirst. Vimati took pity on him and took him to a lake. The sage was satisfied, and, learning Vimati's conduct by meditation, advised him to utter the word 'Govinda' incessantly. Vimati did so and felt happy. In course of time Vimati died and was reborn in a Brahmin family with the power of recalling the memory of his previous births. In this life he remembered all the previous sufferings and had great indifference. He eulogised Kṛṣṇa for his pity, and the latter freed him from all sins and gave him final release.

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[56] According to Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍeśvara and others, Pāṣaṇḍas are those who are extra-Vedic (pākhaṇḍādayo veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 22; pākhaṇḍā veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 28; and so on). Vallālasena takes Pāṣaṇḍins (or Pāṣaṇḍas) to mean those people who give instructions on anti-Vedic Dharma (pāṣaṇḍino veda-viparīta-dharmopadeṣṭāraḥ—Dānasāgara, p. 57).

[57] siṃha-vyāghrādayaḥ saumyāś ceruḥ saha mṛgair girau.—Fol. 241a.

From the above indication of the contents of the Viṣṇudharma it is evident that the entire subject-matter of this work has been set out in the forms of a number of primary and secondary dialogues, which are as follows:

1. Principal interlocutors—Śaunaka and Śatānīka.

A. Śaunaka reports to Śatānīka the interlocutions between the following persons:

(1) Brahmā and the sages (Marīci and others) (chap. 1).
(2) Viṣṇu and Ambarīṣa (chap. 2).
(3) Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa (chaps. 2-42).
[Vasiṣṭha reports to Ambarīṣa the interlocution between
(i) Śukra and Prahlāda (chap. 3).

Śukra reprodruces to Prahlāda the interlocution between
(a) Pulastya and Dālbhya (4-42).
Pulastya reproduces to Dālbhya the interlocutions
between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī (chaps. 13-16),
between Śaṃkara and Devī (chaps. 21-22),
between Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī (chap. 29),
between Maitreyī and Śīladhanā (chap. 30),
between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (chaps. 35-36),
between the Aśvins and Aila Purūravas (chap. 38).]
(4) Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira (chaps. 43-63).
(5) Bhīma and Yudhiṣṭhira (chap. 67).
(6) Prahlāda and Bali (chaps. 76, 79-83).
[Prahlāda reports to Bali the interlocution between
Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ (chaps. 83-91).
Vasiṣṭha reports to Māndhātṛ the dialogue between
Gauramukha and Parīkṣit (chaps. 89-90).]
In the remaining chapters Śaunaka speaks direct to Śatānīka.

A perusal of the Viṣṇudharma shows that it is purely a Vaiṣṇava work on the glorification and worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, who, in his supreme state, is said to be the same as Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. According to this work, Kṛṣṇa (often called Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa) is all-powerful (īśa), unborn, eternal and boundless, and, being the Universal Soul, resides in the heart of all. He has no beginning, transcends both the real and the unreal (sadasataḥ param—chap. 2) and is identical with the Supreme Brahma. He has two states of existence —'*para*' and '*apara*', and is consequently both dual and nondual (bhedābheda-svarūpastha—chap. 1). Although he is unchangeable (apariṇāmī), he is the cause and source of creation, which is explained from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda' (duality and nonduality—chap. 96). It is he who, in creation, becomes Pradhāna and Puruṣa by *līlā*, and also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chap. 1). He comprises all including the universe, which lies in his belly (brahmāṇḍam udareśayam). For the good of created beings he incarnates himself on earth in parts (kalā, aṃśa) as Vāmana, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and others.[58]

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[58] Vāmana is said to be a partial incarnation of Vāsudeva—vāsudevaḥ

Even Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devakī) is said in more places than one to be a partial incarnation of this Supreme Kṛṣṇa[59] (also called Vāsudeva) who, as has already been said, is the same as Viṣṇu in his supreme state. In chap. 102 Vāsudeva is identified with Paramātman and said to be *catur-vyūha* and *māyin*.[60]

As to the best way of realising Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu the Viṣṇudharma puts great stress on the practice of Yoga, which it characterises in the following verse of Śaunaka (said to Śatānīka):

"pareṇa brahmaṇā sārdham ekatvaṃ yan nṛpātmanaḥ/
sa eva yogo vikhyātaḥ kim anyad yoga-lakṣaṇam//"
(Chap. 99, fol. 231a).

"It is unity, O king, of the (individual) soul with the Supreme Brahma that is well known as *yoga*. What else is the characteristic of *yoga*?"

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kalayāvatīrṇaḥ (chap. 76, fol. 161b); aṃśāvatīrṇena ca yena (chap. 76, fol. 162a).

Nara and Nārāyaṇa describe themselves as extremely small parts of Vāsudeva.—

sa sarva-vāsi-devatvād vāsudevety udāhṛtaḥ/
vayam aṃśāṃśakās tasya caturvyūhasya māyinaḥ// (chap. 102, fol. 244a).

Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu calls Lāṅgali Rāma (i.e. Balarāma) the second part of himself.— Cf. dvitīyo yo mamāṃśas tu rāmo 'nantaḥ sa lāṅgalī (chap. 66, fol. 127a).

In chap. 101 Brahmā and other gods are said to be parts of Viṣṇu.—

yato hi devatāḥ sarvā brahmādyāḥ kuru-nandana/
aṃśabhūtā jagad-dhātur viṣṇor avyakta-janmanaḥ// (fol. 239b).

[59] Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, being worshipped by Devakī, assured the latter of his birth as her son, saying:

"bhaviṣyaty acirād devi mad-aṃśena sutas tava" (chap. 90, fol. 206a).

See also fol. 206b—

avāpa ca tato garbhaṃ devakī vasudevataḥ/
ajāyata ca viśveśaḥ svenāṃśena janārdanaḥ//

By calling Lāṅgali Rāma the second part of himself Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu suggests that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa also was one of his parts.

[60] For the relevant verse see foot-note 58 above.

It classifies Yoga into two types, viz., *para* and *apara*[61], which are better known as jñāna-yoga and kriyā-yoga (i. e. karma-yoga) respectively; and it briefly distinguishes between these two types saying:

"jñāna-yogaś ca saṃyogaś cittasyaivātmanā tu yaḥ/
yas tu bāhyārtha-sāpekṣaḥ sa kriyā-yoga ucyate//"
(Chap. 80, fol. 183a-b).

"Yoga by knowledge is communion of the mind with Ātman, but Yoga by work is what depends upon external objects."

By the *apara* type of Yoga (or Kriyā-yoga, which is intended for those who are unable to control their mind in spite of their sincere devotion for the god)[62] it means worship of the deity in images, with the practice of *yama* and *niyama*, which are said to be the causes of success in Yoga (chaps. 99-100). It looks upon *karma* (work) as the only cause of bondage for creatures, and says that *karma* causes the distinction between Kṣetrajña and Paramātman (bhedaś ca karma-janitaḥ kṣetrajña-paramātmanoḥ—chap. 96, fol. 225a). It follows the Bhagavad-gītā in stating that it is selfless work and constant devotional service and complete self-surrender to the god which can liberate people from the bonds of *karma* and make them merge into him.[63] By way of prescribing *karma* which the Vaiṣṇavas should do for freedom from bondage and the consequent rebirths, this work extols not only worship, muttering of *mantra*, constant remembrance of the deity, service to Viṣṇu-temples, presents and donations, fasting and other austere practices,[64] and so on, but also the due performance of Varṇāśrama-dharma as known from the Vedas, the Smṛtis (especially that of Manu), and the Purāṇas.[65] In chap. 74 Viṣṇu is found to speak to Lakṣmī on the characteristics of his favourites, thus:

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[61] For detailed treatment of *para* and *apara yoga* see chap. 99 (fols. 230b-232b).

[62] Cf. chap. 2—
bhaktyātipravaṇasyāpi cañcalaṃ tvan-mano yadi/
mayy upāsye bhaved bhūpa kuru mad-rūpiṇīṃ tanum// (fol. 10a).

[63] Chap. 2, fol. 10a-b—
mad-bhāvanā mad-yajanā mad-bhaktā mat-parāyaṇāḥ/
mama pūjā-parāś caiva mayi yānti layaṃ narāḥ//
... ... mat-kriyā-paramaḥ param/
padam āpsyasi mā bhais tvaṃ mayy arpita-manā bhava//
mayi saṃnyasya sarvaṃ ... ... /
mad-arthaṃ kuru karmāṇi ... ... //

Chap. 79, fol. 176b—
karoṣi yāni karmāṇi tāni deve jagat-patau/
samarpayasva bhadraṃ te tataḥ karma prahāsyasi//
kṣīṇa-karmā mahābāho śubhāśubha-vivarjitaḥ/
layam abhyeti govinde tad brahma paramaṃ mahat//

For relevant verses see also chap. 1 (fol. 4b—tanniṣṭhās tad-gata-dhiyas tat-karmāṇas tad-āśrayāḥ/ etc.).

"O beautiful lady, those people are my devotees who fare without transgressing even by mind the duties declared by Śruti and Smṛti.

"As I took the form of Brahmā, the Vedas came out of my mouth; and it is to me appearing in the forms of Manu and others that the Smṛtis are known to belong.

"Śruti and Smṛti are my command. He, O auspicious one, who worships me with all his belongings by violating that (command of mine), does not attain me, O venerable one, a violator of (my) command as he is.

"To him, who does not deviate from his own duty or indulge in doing harm (to others) and who always has devotion for me, I am not difficult to attain."[66]

It is further said that by the due performance of his duties enjoined by his caste and order of life a member of a lower caste is elevated in his next birth to the immediately higher caste, that the reverse happens in case of neglect of the same, and that an honest and dutiful Brahmin is blessed with final release.[67] Thus, the Viṣṇudharma firmly believes in caste-system, which, in its opinion, is a pointer to a man's progress to the attainment of final emancipation.

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[64] For mention of some of these practices see chap. 47 (fols. 93a ff.).

[65] See especially chaps. 42, 44, and 52.

[66] śruti-smṛty-uditaṃ dharmaṃ manasāpi na ye narāḥ/
samullaṅghya pravartante te bhaktā mama bhāmini//
brahma-rūpa-dharasyāsyān mama vedā viniḥsṛtāḥ/
manvādi-rūpiṇaś caiva samastāḥ smṛtayaḥ smṛtāḥ//
śrutiḥ smṛtir mamaivājñā tām ullaṅghya yajec chubhe/
sarvasvenāpi māṃ devi nāpnoty ājñā-vighātakṛt//
yaḥ sva-dharmān na calati hiṃsādau yo na sajyyate/
vahatas tasya mad-bhaktiṃ sadaivāhaṃ na durlabhaḥ//
Fol. 157a-b.

As regards the highest (*para*) type of Yoga (i.e. Jñāna-yoga) the Viṣṇudharma says that it is this Yoga which finally severs the bonds of *karma* and leads one to *kaivalya* by putting a stop to all the functions of the mind. Although this type of *yoga* is thus 'the veritable ambrosia ensuring the complete cessation of sufferings', it is extremely difficult to attain and requires strenuous efforts extending over many births, because one finds it very difficult to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (viṣaya). On the other hand, being deluded by their own *karma* creatures regard their souls as separate from Paramātman and undergo rebirths.[68] So, the Viṣṇudharma extols and prescribes the much easier Kriyā-yoga, which leads definitely to jñāna and thus makes one experience unity with Brahma by completely severing the bonds of *karma*.[69] According to this work Yoga benefits all without distinction of caste and sex, and this distinction is determined by their progress in Yoga, because by its practice one may pass from womanhood successively through the different states of existence as members of different castes beginning with that of a Śūdra, until one becomes a Brahmin and attains final emancipation. By naming a number of persons of different castes and sexes who attained success in Yoga,[70] it asserts that the proper

[67] Chap. 101, fols. 236b-237a—
śūdra-dharmān aśeṣeṇa kurvan śūdro yathāvidhi/
vaiśyatvam eti vaiśyaś ca kṣatriyatvaṃ sva-karmakṛt//
vipratvaṃ kṣatriyaḥ samyak dvija-dharma-paro nṛpa/
vipraś ca mukti-lābhena yujyate sat-kriyā-paraḥ//

[68] paśyaty ātmānam anyatra yāvad vai paramātmanaḥ/
tāvat sa bhrāmyate jantur mohito nija-karmaṇā//
Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

[69] saṃkṣīṇāśeṣa-karmā tu paraṃ brahma prapaśyati; and
saṃkṣīṇa-karma-bandhasya na bhedo brahmaṇā saha.
Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

[70] These persons are Jaigīṣavya, Asita, Hiraṇyanābha, Janaka, Tulādhāra and other Vaiśyas, Pelavaka and other Śūdras, Maitreyī, Sulabhā, Gārgī, Śāṇḍilī, Dharmavyādha and others. (Fol. 230a-b).

practice of Yoga is sure to lead one of any caste or sex to final release.[71]

It has already been said that in chap. 1 the Viṣṇudharma describes Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) as 'bhedābheda-svarūpastha', and in chap. 96 it explains the creation of the universe from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda'. So, there is little scope for doubt that the philosophical view advocated by the Viṣṇudharma is 'bhedābheda' or 'dvaitādvaita' (duality and nonduality). As a matter of fact, this work expressly says:

> "advaitaṃ paramārtho hi dvaitaṃ tad-bheda ucyate/
> ubhayaṃ brahmaṇo rūpaṃ dvaitādvaita-vibhedataḥ//"[72]

The Viṣṇudharma, as we have it at present, is decidedly a work of the Bhāgavatas. It prescribes the sectarian *mantra* 'oṃ namo vāsudevāya' (chap. 79, fol. 181b), and characterises and highly praises the Bhāgavatas at more places than one.[73] It looks upon these sectaries as superior to the performers of austerity (*tapas*) and costly sacrifices, and says that to be eligible for Viṣṇu-worship one has to become a Bhāgavata, because no one other than a Bhāgavata can merge in him or even eulogise him rightly or see him or have true knowledge about him.[74] It further adds that it is by great religious merit that a person becomes a Bhāgavata devoted to Bhagavat Janārdana, who is the same as Paramātman,[75] and that the god of death does not allow his servants to lay their hands on the sincere Bhāgavatas.[76]

We shall now try to determine the period of composition of the present Viṣṇudharma, which has been recognised very widely as a respectable source of Dharma. As a matter of fact, on the strength of some verses of the Bhaviṣya-p.[77] Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍeśvara and others accept the Viṣṇudharma to be as much authoritative on Dharma as the Purāṇas and rank it with the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc.[78] These scholars as well as many others quote from it numerous verses, and sometimes even complete chapters, in their respective works. For instance, verses are found quoted from chap. 4 in Gadādhara's Kālasāra, from chaps. 2, 4, 10, 25, 32, 81 and 105 in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, from chaps. 48 and 53 in Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇā-cārya's Dāna-kaumudī, from chaps. 9, 25, 88 and 91 in Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara, from chaps. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 34, 49, 50, 53, 61, 79, 83, 84 and 86-89 in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, from chap. 81 in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, from chaps. 22, 25, 38, 60 and 86-88 in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, from chaps. 25, 45, 53, 58-60, 85-88 and 91 in Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, from chaps. 9 and 13 in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, and from chaps. 96-98 in the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya ascribed to Śaṃkara.[79] In his account of India Alberūnī names the 'Viṣṇudharma', to which he ascribes the verses quoted by him from the present Viṣṇudharmottara, obviously by taking the latter work to be a part of the former. The present Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we shall see afterwards,[79a] was composed between 400 and 500 A.D., betrays its knowledge of the Viṣṇudharma by claiming, in two of its verses,[80] to be the latter part of this work and by giving some stories which are decidedly based on and developed from the same as occurring in it.[80a] By a critical examination of the genuine Āgneya-purāṇa (*alias* Vahni-purāṇa)[81] we have found that this work originally concerned itself with the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the Yajurveda, dealt with the five Purāṇic topics as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of these Brahmins, and advocated the worship of Rudra in the form of Agni, that it passed through three main stages before attaining its present form, extent and character, and that in the second stage it was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas (most probably the Bhāgavatas) who modified this work with chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma dealing with Vaiṣṇava Kriyāyoga and having Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa as the principal interlocutors.[82] As these chapters and verses common to the two works are very numerous and as the Viṣṇudharma has not yet been printed and its verses are not numbered, we give below a list of only those chapters of the two works which have large numbers of verses common to them:

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[71] See chap. 98.

[72] Chap. 96, fol. 225b.

[73] See chaps. 3, 79 and 80.

[74] For the relevant verse see foot-note 38 above.

[75] paramātmā ca bhagavān viṣvakseno janārdanaḥ/
tad-bhaktimān bhāgavato nālpa-puṇyena jāyate//
Chap. 79, fol. 176a.

[76] Cf. ye tu bhāgavatā loke bhavitās tat-parāyaṇāḥ/
pūjayanti sadā viṣṇuṃ te vas tyājyāḥ sudūrataḥ//
(said by Yama to his servants).—Chap. 80, fol. 184a.

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[77] These verses are the following:

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇeṣu yāni vākyāni putraka/
tāny ālocya mahābāho tathā smṛty-antareṣu ca//
manv-ādi-smṛtayo yās tu ṣaṭtriṃśat parikīrtitāḥ/
tāsāṃ vākyāni kramaśaḥ samālocya bravīmi te//

and aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā/
viṣṇudharmādi-śastrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata// etc. (quoted above).

For these verses see Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, pp. 24 and 25, Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 29 and 30, and so on.

[78] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25, and Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30. See also Nityā-cāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22.

[79] According to S. K. Belvalkar the ascription of the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya to Śaṃkarācārya 'is more or less debatable.'—See Belvalkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, p. 218.

[79a] Under 'Viṣṇudharmottara' below. See also Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, III, 1952, pp. 43-58.

Āgneya-p.		Viṣṇudharma
28. 1-36	—	Chap. 1.
28. 37ff.	—	,, 2.
29. 1ff.	—	Chaps. 3 and 66.
Chap. 11	—	Chap. 52.
,, 31	—	,, 80.

Āgneya-p.		Viṣṇudharma
Chap. 36 (verses 27ff).	—	Chaps. 82, 86 and 87.
,, 37	—	Chap. 88.
,, 59 (verses 46ff.)	—	,, 81.
,, 63 .	—	,, 61.
etc.		etc.

That the Āgneya-p. took these common chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma, can be established by the following evidences:

(2) At the beginning of chap. 28 of the Āgneya-p. the sages

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[80] For these two verses see foot-note 24 above.

[80a] For the relevant chapters containing these stories and for the grounds of their later date, see under 'Viṣṇudharmottara' below.

[81] In 1951 I discovered this work from the ASB Ms No. 8090, which was found wrongly described in Shastri's ASB Cat., V, p. 422 to be a Ms of the spurious Agni-p. published so often from different parts of India.

[82] For our analysis of the genuine Āgneya-p. (*alias* Vahni-p.) see Our Heritage (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta), I, 1953, pp. 209-245, and II, 1954, pp. 77-110. See also Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, V, 1956, pp. 411-416.

request Sūta to speak on the various acts which please 'Kṛṣṇa' and yield final liberation; and in compliance with this request Sūta agrees to tell them elaborately about (Kriyā-) Yoga, which, he says, was spoken out to him by his father, who had received it from Vahni, the Fire-god, through Marīci. He then goes on to speak on Kriyā-yoga and narrates the story of king Ambarīṣa in almost the same way and the same words as those in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 1-3, the main difference between the two sources being that in the Viṣṇudharma this story is narrated by Śaunaka to king Śatānīka and Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out first by Brahmā to Marīci, Bhṛgu and others and then by Vasiṣṭha to king Ambarīṣa through Viṣṇu's favour, whereas in Āgneya-p., chap. 28 it is narrated by Sūta to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest as an interlocution between Vahni (the Fire-god) and Marīci, and the discourse on Kriyā-yoga is traced back to the Fire-god (Vahni, Agni), who is said to have narrated it first of all to Marīci and others and from whom Vasiṣṭha is said to have heard it during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).[83]

(2) In all the Mss of the Āgneya-p. we have been able to consult, the colophon of chap. 28 (which contains the said story of king Ambarīṣa and has, in its latter part, many verses in common with chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma) has been given as 'devāmbarīṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ', clearly in imitation of the colophon of chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma which runs as 'iti viṣṇudharmeṣv acyutāmbarīṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ'.

(3) It is in chap. 28 of the Āgneya-p. (and not in chap. 3, wherein the story is given as to how the Fire-god came to speak to Marīci and other sages on the various Purāṇic topics) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard the Kriyā-yoga from Vahni during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).

(4) In several places of the Āgneya-p. the words 'viṣṇudharma', 'vaiṣṇava dharma' and 'vaiṣṇava-dharma' have been used, though in their literal sense.

It should be mentioned here that in chap. 3 of the Āgneya-p. the Fire-god is said to have spoken to Marīci and other sages on the different Purānic topics during the sacrifice instituted by Marīci, there being no mention of Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga or of Vasiṣṭha as a hearer, that it is as late as in chap. 28 (which, as we have already seen, is constituted of verses mostly taken from Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard discourses on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga from the Fire-god during a sacrifice (most probably the one instituted by Marīci),[84] and that in several places of the Āgneya-p. Vasiṣṭha has been made to refer either to Vahni as the original speaker or to the interlocution between Vahni and Marīci.[85] So, there is no doubt that the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa marks a later stage in the constitution of the present Āgneya-p. than that in which this Purāṇa was a work of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the Yajurveda and had Vahni and Marīci as interlocutors.

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[83] For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p., chap. 28, verses 10-12 (fol. 97a) and 118-119 (fol. 101a).

From what has been said above it is evident that the Āgneya-p. borrowed the common chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma. Our critical analysis of this work has shown that it must have been recast by the Vaiṣṇavas not later than 500 A.D.[86] The way in which the language and contents of the Viṣṇudharma, as well as the colophon of chap. 2 and the speaker Vasiṣṭha in chaps. 2-42 of the same work, have been utilised in the Āgneya-p., shows definitely that at the time when the Āgneya-p. was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas, the Viṣṇudharma attained sufficient recognition in society. That this recognition was very wide and deep-rooted is quite evident from the facts that in two of its verses the Viṣṇudharmottara claims to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions it once in the Madhyama-parvan (7. 8b-11), and twice in the Brāhma-parvan (4. 87-89, and 216. 36-37) together with 'the eighteen Purāṇas', the Rāmāyaṇa (called 'Rama's biography'), the Śivadharma, the Mahābhārata and the Saura-dharma. It may be mentioned here that the present Brāhma-parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p. cannot be dated much later than the sixth century A.D.[87] Like the Āgneya-p. the Bhaviṣyottara also has a good number of chapters in common with the Viṣṇudharma,[88] and it may be that these chapters were taken by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Viṣṇudharma.[89] As the Bhaviṣyottara must have been compiled between 700 and 800 A.D., and most probably towards the end of the eighth century,[90] it could not have been utilised by the Viṣṇudharma, except in the case of two chapters to be mentioned hereinafter. Whatever the relation between the Bhaviṣyottara and the Viṣṇudharma may have been, it is evident that the Viṣṇudharma attained wide recognition as a respectable authority on Dharma by the beginning of the fifth century A.D. So, it could not be composed later than about 300 A.D.

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[84] For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p. 28. 10-12 (fol. 97a), 28. 118-9 (fol. 101a), and 29. 3 (fol. 101a).

[85] See, for instance, Āgneya-p. 29. 3 (fol. 101a), 53. 4 (fol. 161a), and 54. 35a (fol. 165b).

[86] See Our Heritage, II, 1954, p. 79.

This lower limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma finds full support in the facts that this work, though speaking so often of Viṣṇu-worship, is completely free from Tantric elements, that it does not betray its knowledge of any work written later than the end of the second century A.D., and that it mentions the Nakṣatras in the old order from Kṛttikā.[91] We know from the evidence of the Śrauta- and the Gṛhya-sūtras, the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and the latest books of the

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[87] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 172.

[88] These common chapters are the following:

Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Viṣṇudharma	Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Viṣṇudharma
Chap. 77	=	Chap. 14.	Chap. 107	=	Chap. 27.
„ 78	=	„ 15.	„ 108	=	„ 29.
„ 79	=	„ 16.	„ 130	=	„ 32.
„ 82	=	„ 37.	„ 152	=	„ 86.
„ 106	=	„ 30.	„ 153	=	„ 88.

Bhav. I. 107 = Viṣṇudharma, chap. 18.

Bhav. I. 20, and IV. 15—cf. Viṣṇudharma, chap. 41.

[89] The line 'vārāheṇa purā proktāṃ mahāpātaka-nāśinīm' of Bhav. IV. 152 (which agrees with Viṣṇudharma, chap. 86) raises doubt about the source of the Bhaviṣyottara and seems to suggest that at least this chapter was derived by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Varāha-p.

[90] See Hazra in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953, pp. 24-26.

[91] See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 26 (fol. 44a).

Mahābhārata that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

As regards the upper limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma it may be said that it mentions the Smṛti-works of Manu and others,[92] incorporates verses from the Mahābhārata,[93] the Bhagavad-gītā,[94] and the Manu-smṛti,[95] frequently denounces the Pāṣaṇḍas, especially the Buddhists,[96] speaks very highly of the Bhāgavatas,[97] and narrates the interesting story of Mahāmoha,[98] which must have preceded that (in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18) giving out the Buddha to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. So, the Viṣṇudharma is to be dated not earlier than 200 A.D.

Thus, *the date of composition of the present Viṣṇudharma falls between* 200 *and* 300 *A.D.*

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[92] Ibid., chap. 44 (fols. 88b ff.), in which the Dharma-saṃhitās of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Atri, Gārgya, and many others have been mentioned. For these names see foot-note 45 above.

[93] For instance, Mbh I. 74. 30 (āditya-candrāv analānilau ca) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 55 (fol. 101b), Mbh XIII. 115. 64 (caturo vārṣikān māsān) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 62 (fols. 112b ff.), Mbh III. 190. 13b-21a, 23, 25-26a, 30, 36, 43b-44, 46b, 49, etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105 (fols. 255a ff.), and so on.

[94] For verses of the Bhagavad-gītā see Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2 (fol. 9a—man-manā bhava mad-bhaktaḥ), chap. 66 (fol. 123a—yadā yadā hi dharmasya glāniḥ). In chap. 35 (fols. 65b-66a—bhagavān uvāca—pūrvam eva yathākhyātaṃ raṇārambhe tavārjuna, etc.) there is a clear reference to the Bhagavad-gītā.

[95] For verses of the Manu-smṛti (3. 2, 6. 2, etc.) see especially chap. 101 of the Viṣṇudharma.

[96] See Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 25, 66, 73, 105, and so on.

[97] Ibid., chaps. 3, 80, etc.

[98] Ibid., chap. 25.

This early origin of the Viṣṇudharma must not be taken to be disproved by the mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66, because from an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu's incarnations as given in the Purāṇas, Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, and various other works we have found that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.[99] The relevant verses of Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66 run as follows :

tataḥ kali-yuge ghore saṃprāpte 'bja-samudbhava/
śuddhodana-suto buddho bhaviṣyāmi vimatsaraḥ//
bauddhaṃ dharmam upāśritya kariṣye dharma-deśanām/
narāṇām atha nārīṇāṃ dayāṃ bhūteṣu darśayan//
raktāmbara-vyañjitāṅgāḥ praśānta-manasas tathā/
śūdrā dharmaṃ pravakṣyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
eḍūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-gṛha-bhūṣitā/
bhavitrī prāyaśo brahman mayi buddhatvam āgate//
skandha-darśana-mātraṃ hi paśyantaḥ sakalaṃ jagat/
śūdrāḥ śūdreṣu dāsyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
alpāyuṣas tato martyā mohopahata-cetasaḥ/
narakārhāṇi karmāṇi kariṣyanti prajāpate//
svādhyāyeṣv avasīdanto brāhmaṇāḥ śauca-varjitāḥ/
antya-pratigrahādānaṃ kariṣyanty alpa-medhasaḥ//
na śroṣyanti pituḥ putrāḥ śvaśrū-śvaśurayoḥ snuṣāḥ/
na bhāryā bhartur īśasya na bhṛtyā vinaya-sthitāḥ//
varṇa-saṃkaratāṃ prāpte loke 'smin dasyutāṃ gate/
brāhmaṇādiṣu varṇeṣu bhaviṣyaty adharottaram//
dharma-kañcuka-saṃvītā vidharma-rucayas tathā/
mānuṣān bhakṣayiṣyanti mlecchāḥ pārthiva-rūpiṇaḥ//[100]

There is no scope for doubt that these verses (in which Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā) are later additions and were inserted into the Viṣṇudharma after its language and contents had been utilised in the genuine Āgneya-p. in the second stage of its modification. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows:

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[99] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.

[100] The above text of these verses is based on those given in ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fol. 127a-b) and 3506 (fol. 101a), which have variants too numerous to be noted here.

The line 'eḍūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-gṛha-bhūṣitā' is the same as Mbh III. 190. 67b.

(1) In connection with a description of the Kali age Āgneya-p. 29. 41 (fol. 102b) names the Buddha in the line 'śūdrā dharmaṃ vadiṣyanti sākṣād buddhopajīvinaḥ'; but here the Buddha appears as the founder of a heretical faith, and there is not the slightest indication anywhere in the whole work that it looked upon the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is, of course, mention of 'ten incarnations' (daśāvatāra), without any complete list, in three places of the Āgneya-p., viz., in chaps. 3, 23 and 28, but this mention does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. According to the Narasiṃha-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, has a good number of verses in common with the Āgneya-p., the ten manifestations or incarnations (prādurbhāvāḥ, avatārāḥ—Nar. 54. 1, 6) are the following: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Balabhadra (Rāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalki (Nar. 36-54).[101] Thus, in its list of Viṣṇu's ten manifestations or incarnations the Narasiṃha-p. names both Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, but not the Buddha. As a matter of fact, the Buddha came to be included in the list of Viṣṇu's incarnations in place of Kṛṣṇa after the latter had ceased to be looked upon by a considerable section of people as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu and had become the Bhagavat himself.

(2) Like the Narasiṃha-p., Viṣṇu-p. and other early works, the Viṣṇudharma names both Kṛṣṇa and 'Lāṅgalī Rāma' as partial incarnations of Viṣṇu in the thirteen lines (on fols. 126b-127a) immediately preceding those on the Buddha incarnation quoted above. It also names Kalkin, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, in the nine lines following those on the Buddha.

(3) By way of describing *dharma* in the different Yugas in chap. 104 the Viṣṇudharma names Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin, but not the Buddha.

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[101] That Nar. 36. 9a, mentioning the Buddha as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu, is undoubtedly spurious, we shall see below (under 'Narasiṃha-p.').

(4) In many other places of the Viṣṇudharma the incarnations of Viṣṇu have been named,[102] but there is no mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of this god anywhere except in the verses of chap. 66 quoted above. On the other hand, the Buddha has clearly been identified with Mahāmoha born of the malevolent rite (called kṛtyā) performed by the demons Ṣaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods, and his followers have been denounced at every step.

The name 'Māyāmohaka' for Viṣṇu, as occurring in king Ambarīṣa's eulogy of the god in chap. 2 (fol. 7b) of ASB Ms No. 1670 of the Viṣṇudharma, need not be taken to be based on Viṣṇu-p. III. 17 and 18, which narrate the story of Viṣṇu's creation of the delusive figure called Māyāmoha from his own body. In the other ASB Ms (No. 3506) of the Viṣṇudharma, which we have been able to consult, this name has been given as 'Māyāmohana' (which, therefore, has to be taken in its literal sense). The tradition of Viṣṇu's deluding creatures with his Māyā is very ancient and well known. The Viṣṇudharma itself says that pleasure in the association of Pāsaṇḍas and partiality for their logic are caused by Viṣṇu-māyā.[103] Moreover, the story of Māyāmoha in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18 is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A. D. and probably not earlier than 500 A.D.[104]

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[102] For instance, chap. 28 names Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Vaikuṇṭha, Nara and Hayagrīva, chap. 39 omits Vaikuṇṭha and Nara of chap. 28 but adds Bhārgavottama, chap. 40 names only Narasiṃha, Rāma (Dāśarathi) and Paraśurāma, chap. 67 names Kaurma, Mātsya, Vārāha, Vāmana, Tārkṣya and Nārasiṃha, chap. 68 names Varāha, Vāmana and Narasiṃha (the line 'rāmo rāmaś ca rāmaś ca etc.' on fol. 137a not occurring in ASB Ms No. 3506), and chap. 90 names Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Aśvaśiras, Jāmadagnya, Rāghava and Kṛṣṇa (who is called 'recent'—sāṃpratam).

The incarnations, named in chap. 66, are the following: Vārāha, Kāpila (said to be the first incarnation in a human form—jānāmi kāpilaṃ rūpaṃ prathamaṃ pauruṣaṃ mama—fol. 126a), Nṛsiṃha, Kūrma, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Bhārgava-rāma, Rāghava-rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Lāṅgalī Rāma (said to be the second part of Viṣṇu—dvitīyo yo mamāṃśaḥ—fol. 127a), and Kalkin, the verses on the Buddha being spurious.

[103] pāṣaṇḍeṣu ratiḥ puṃsāṃ hetu-vādānukūlatā/
jāyate viṣṇu-māyāmbhaḥ-patitānāṃ durātmanām// Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

[104] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 24-25.

The early date, to which we have assigned the Viṣṇudharma, must not be taken to be that of all its chapters and verses. We have already seen that a part of chap. 66, dealing with the Buddha incarnation, is spurious. There are also two more complete chapters which were derived, most probably at a much later date, from the Bhaviṣyottara. These are chaps. 19 and 20, which are practically the same as Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 80 and 105 respectively. It is remarkable that in the other chapters of the Viṣṇudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya, the latter has been addressed as 'dvija-śreṣṭha', 'brahman,' 'mahāmune' etc.; but in the said two chapters (19 and 20) he has been addressed as 'pārthiva', 'nṛpa,' 'manujeśvara,' 'rājan' etc. This abrupt change in the personality of Dālbhya is due to the facts that in the Bhaviṣyottara, from which these chapters were derived, Kṛṣṇa speaks to king Yudhiṣṭhira, and that when chaps. 80 and 105 were incorporated into the Viṣṇudharma to form chaps. 19 and 20 respectively, no attempt was made to adapt them to the interlocutors Pulastya and Dālbhya of the Viṣṇudharma.

It will be interesting here to describe the circumstances which, according to the Viṣṇudharma, necessitated and inspired the composition of this Vaiṣṇava 'Śāstra' as early as in the third century A.D.

From a study of ancient Indian history we learn that during the few centuries from the time of Aśoka Maurya's reign, there was a great spread of Buddhism in and outside India. The Viṣṇudharma amply testifies to the spread of this and other heretical faiths, the followers of which it calls 'Pāṣaṇḍins' (or 'Pāṣaṇḍas') and defines thus:

> "śruti-smṛty-uditaṃ dharmaṃ varṇāśrama-vibhāgajam/
> ullaṅghya ye pravartante svecchayā kūṭa-yuktibhiḥ//
> vikarmābhiratā mūḍhā yukti-prāgalbhya-durmadāḥ/
> pāṣaṇḍinas te duḥśīlā narakārhā narādhamāḥ//"[105]

"Those, who fare wilfully by transgressing, with puzzling argumentation, the duties (dharma) arising from the distinction of castes and orders of life (and) declared by Śruti and Smṛti, and who, being infatuated, set themselves to unlawful work and are maddened by

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[105] Chap. 25 (fol. 42a).

(their) skill in reasoning, are Pāṣaṇḍins, the worst of men, having reproachable conduct and deserving (residence in) hell."

We have already seen in the story of Mahāmoha how, according to the Viṣṇudharma, these Pāṣaṇḍins encouraged indiscipline in society by decrying Śruti and Smṛti and encouraging the violation of their prescriptions as regards the rites and duties of the different castes and orders of life and the performance of unlawful acts. In giving a dismal picture of the evils of the Kali age in chap. 105 the Viṣṇudharma repeats many verses of Mahābhārata III. 190[106] and adds :

"People will hanker after property earned by unfair means, and females (eager for union with males) will ardently wish (to imitate) the beauty and gestures of prostitutes.

"... ... ...

"... ... ... People will forsake the Vedas and the twice-born (Brahmins) and direct their attention to other things.

"Then, being overpowered by Time, they will forsake Brahmā and other gods who enjoy shares in the sacrificial offerings and are read of in the Vedas by the twice-born (people), and, being given to (heretical) dialectics, will create other deities.

"... ... ...

"... ... ... At that time they will have much regard neither for bath nor for (physical) purification.

"The minds of people will not be inlined to devotion for Viṣṇu in the Kali age, after Kṛṣṇa, being characterised by blackness, comes down.

"During the first quarter (of this age) people will decry Hari, but at its end none will utter his name.

"... ... ...

"If, during this Kali age, in which the earth will be crowded with many heretics, a virtuous person will utter the words 'I bow down to you, Kṛṣṇa' (kṛṣṇāya te namaḥ),

"the heretics, decrying the system of the four stages of life, will create delusion (of the mind) by means of (their) power of (rationalistic) argumentation and the rogues.

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[106] For these verses see foot-note 93 above.

"Then this earth, turning heretical to a very great extent and (consequently) growing uncultured, will be made difficult (for residence) by the pseudo-ascetics.

"At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own *dharma*.

"Some will become Utkocas[107] (?), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, and the heretical Kāpilas and Bhikṣus,

"while other wicked Śūdras will turn Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas and Siddhaputras in the Kali age.

"Turning wandering mendicants the villainous Śūdras will undergo no (physical) purification, have crooked nature, and habitually live on food perpared by others.

"These and many others, as well as the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas etc. will turn heretics.

"These mean people will misappropriate state revenue, rob the householders, remain concealed by (assuming) the appearance and dress of sages, and subsist on trade.

"Being perverted by (heretical) reasoning (and) by compositions (made) in the language of Mlecchas, people in the Kali (age) will respect neither the twice-born (Brahmins) nor the Vedas.

"With their growing extremely wicked in this way, others (also) will turn wicked by following their path and moving about in a wrong way.

"Then people will utter unrefined speech, denounce the Vedic works, and make the world stray from the right path."[108]

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[107] In ASB Ms No. 3506 (fol. 179b) this name has been given as 'Utkauca' (utkaucāḥ).

[108] The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols. 255b-257a) and 3506 (fols. 179a-180a), are the following:

anyāyopātta-vitteṣu kariṣyanti narāḥ spṛhām/
veśyā-lāvaṇya-bhāveṣu spṛhāṃ yoṣit kariṣyati//
... ...
narā veda-dvijāṃs tyaktvā bhaviṣyanty anyato-mukhāḥ/
yajña-bhāga-bhujo devā ye veda-paṭhitā dvijaiḥ/
brahmādyās tān parityajya narāḥ kāla-balātkṛtāḥ//
hetu-vāda-parā devān kariṣyanty aparāṃs tadā//
... ...

Regarding the state of Vaiṣṇavism and Kṛṣṇa-worship in those days the Viṣṇudharma further says in chap. 73:

"(Those) who, though ignorant, take themselves to be wise by following heretical dialectics and, with their knowledge screened by nescience (avidyā), consider a life dependent on Kṛṣṇa to be not worth living,

"and (also those) who take to misleading argumentation in refuting the statements in favour (of the authority) of the Vedas,—in their heart Keśava never becomes a dear guest.

bahu maṃsyanti na snānaṃ nāpi śaucaṃ tadā narāḥ//
na viṣṇu-bhakti-pravaṇaṃ narāṇāṃ nṛpa mānasam/
bhavitā tu kalau prāpte kṛṣṇe kārṣṇyopalakṣite//
vinindāṃ prathame pāde kariṣyanti harer narāḥ/
yugānte tu harer nāma naiva kaścid grahiṣyati//
... ...
bahu-pāṣaṇḍa-saṃkīrṇe jagaty asmin kalau yuge/
kṛṣṇāya te namas tatra sukṛtī yadi vakṣyati//
hetu-vāda-balair mohaṃ kuhakaiś ca janais tadā/
pāṣaṇḍinaḥ kariṣyanti cāturāśramya-dūṣakāḥ//
pāṣaṇḍa-bhūtam atyarthaṃ jagad etad asaṃskṛtam/
bhaviṣyati tadā bhūpa vṛthā-pravrajitotkoṭam//
na tu dvijāti-śuśrūṣāṃ na sva-dharmānupālanam/
kariṣyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-liṅgino 'dhamāḥ//
utkocāḥ saugatāś caiva mahāyāna-ratās tathā/
bhaviṣyanty atha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kāpilā bhikṣavas tathā//
śākyāḥ śrāvaka-nirgranthāḥ siddhaputrās tathāpare/
bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ kali-yuge nṛpa//
niḥśaucā vakra-matayaḥ para-pākānna-bhojinaḥ/
bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ pravrajitās tadā//
ete cānye ca bahavaḥ pāṣaṇḍāḥ puruṣarṣabha/
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti tathāpare//
rāja-śulka-harāḥ kṣudrā gṛhastha-parimoṣakāḥ/
muni-veśākṛti-cchannā vāṇijyam upajīvakāḥ/
na dvijān na kalau vedān pūjayiṣyanti mānavāḥ//
mleccha-bhāṣā-nibandhais tu hetu-vādair vikūlitāḥ//
evaṃ teṣv atiduṣṭeṣu vimārga-parivartinaḥ/
bhaviṣyanty apare duṣṭās teṣāṃ mārgānuyāyinaḥ//
asaṃskṛtokti-vaktāro veda-śāstra-vinindakāḥ/
agad unmārga-kartāro bhaviṣyanti tadā narāḥ//

"There is no expiation for those wicked people who decry his (i. e. Kṛṣṇa's) activities by taking him to be a human being.

"Some (people) call him a god, some of poor intellect give him out to be a man, (while) others, being deluded by his Māyā, take Viṣṇu (to have been born) in the state of a lower animal"[109].

From the above description of the effects of the spread of the heresies in the Indian society of those days it is evident that the indefatigable efforts of the heretic dialecticians, especially Buddhist, helped the wide spread of the anti-vedic faiths, especially Buddhism, among all grades of people and encouraged the breach of social discipline as understood by the followers and supporters of the Vedic way of life. As a matter of fact, it was the irrefutable reasonings of the heretic dialecticians which popularised their faiths to such a great extent and made the people lose faith in Kṛṣṇa and other deities respected and worshipped by the followers of the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma. We have already seen how the heretical dialectics have been mentioned repeatedly in the Viṣṇudharma with a feeling of awe and frustration. In a verse of chap. 105 it has been said that in the Kali age even a fool gives an irrefutable answer by taking to the (heretical) way of reasoning.[110] So, it is was clearly the wide spread of the heresies, especially Buddhism, which encouraged the composition of the present Viṣṇudharma and similar other sectarian 'Śāstras' of the Śaivas, Sauras and others.

We have already seen how, by following the teachings of the Bhagavad-gītā, the present Viṣṇudharma advocates the practice of Yoga for the realisation of Viṣṇu-Brahma; and it can hardly be denied that this advocacy was inspired to a great extent by the teachings of the heretical faiths, for which theistic Yoga was the most suitable antidote. Though prescribing this Yoga to all including women and Śūdras, the Viṣṇudharma extols the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma and tries hard to keep the people aloof from the influence of the Pāṣaṇḍas. It declares Śruti and Smṛti to be the commands of the Bhagavat himself,[111] regards the Purāṇa, the Mānava Dharma (-Śāstra), and the Vedas together with the Aṅgas as authoritative by origin and consequently unquestionable, and says: "One should know that man to have derived his origin from a part of an Asura who bears hatred towards Govinda and decries the twice-born (Brahmins) and the Vedas"[112]. It tries to impress upon the people that one's caste depends wholly on one's actions in the previous births (chap. 57), that the due performance of one's caste-duties without any feeling of attachment, hatred, etc. destroys the previous actions causing rebirth,[113] and that 'it is the Vedas, the deities, the sacrifices and the twice-born (Brahmins), who, being eulogised, praised and worshipped with much respect, confer the highest bliss (paramṃ śreyaḥ)'[114]. It speakes very highly of Brahmins as well as of various kinds of service[115] rendered to them and glorifies them saying that they can reduce people to ashes, create Lokas and Lokapālas, and lead the aspirants to heaven, and that it was they who made the waters of oceans saline and undrinkable and whose fire of wrath still burns in the Daṇḍaka forest (chap. 52). It encourages the cultivation of various personal virtues such as universal friendship, satisfaction, kindness, tolerance, regard for others' wives as mothers, and so on, and urges the avoidance of attachment, untruth, hiṃsā and other vices, and especially of association and conversation with the Pāṣaṇḍas not only during Viṣṇu-worship and the observance of the Vaiṣṇava

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[109] heyāṃ kṛṣṇāśrayāṃ vṛttiṃ manyante hetu-saṃśritāḥ/
avidyopahata-jñānā ye 'jñānā jñāna-māninaḥ//
veda-vāda-virodhena kūṭa-yuktim upāśritāḥ/
ye keśavas taddhṛdaye na kadācit priyātithiḥ//
mānuṣaṃ taṃ manuṣyatve manyamānāḥ ku-buddhayaḥ/
karmāṇi ye 'sya nindanti na teṣāṃ niṣkṛtir nṛṇām//
kecid vadanti taṃ devaṃ manuṣyaṃ cālpa-medhasaḥ/
tiryaktve cāpare viṣṇuṃ māyayā tasya mohitāḥ// (fol. 154^{b}).

[110] hetu-vādāśrito mūḍho dadāty uttaram akṣayam. —Fol. 259a.

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[111] For the relevant verse see foot-note 66 above.

[112] Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

[113] Chap. 42 (fol. 87a).

[114] Chap. 33 (fol. 63b).

[115] Such as rendering hospitality to Brahmins as guests, shampooing their feet, saving them at the sacrifice of one's own life, and so on.

Vratas but also on other occasions[116]. In case of conversation with these heretics it prescribes expiations, viz., citation of particular Vedic and Purāṇic verses, remembering of Acyuta, and looking at the sun, and in case of physical contact with them the expiation consists of all these acts as well as bath (chap. 25, fol. 42a-b). So, the ideal society aimed at by the Viṣṇudharma is Brāhmaṇical. According to this work a 'worthy son' (sat-putra) is one who is devoted to the gods and Brahmins, knows the Śāstras, and attains Nirvāṇa (chap. 30); and as regards feeding of Brahmins in a Śrāddha ceremony it does not favour any discrimination between them but says that the squint-eyed, hunchbacked, poor, diseased and similar other Brahmins are to be mixed up with those who are versed in the Veda.[117]

As to the position of females in society the opinion expressed by the Viṣṇudharma is not always very encouraging. According to this work, women, as creatures, are inferior even to the Śūdras, for it says that by practising Yoga a female can become a Brahmin by passing successively through the states of Śūdras and others in her different births (chap. 98). It prescribes Vratas and worships to females but says that in undertaking these a virgin girl must seek the permission of her parents, and a married woman, of her husband. "A wife has no separate sacrifice, Śrāddha or fast. She attains her desires merely by serving her husband."[118] In case her husband forsakes her, or dies, or, turning a heretic (pāṣaṇḍa), does not allow her to worship Viṣṇu, she is to worship her husband and remain faithful to him in body and mind.[119] If she is a widow, she should remain chaste, give libation of water to her deceased husband, worship Viṣṇu daily by observing fast, receive guests, perform the Agnihotra rites without Mantra (agnihotram amantrakam), make gifts, and do other pious acts (chap. 22).

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[116] See chaps. 3 (fol. 11b), 4 (fol. 16a), 5 (fol. 17a), 7 (fol. 20a), 8 (fol. 22b), 14 (fol. 26b), 15 (fol. 27b), 22 (fol. 36b), 73 (fol. 153a), and especially 25.

[117] na brāhmaṇaṃ parikṣeta śrāddha-kāle hy upasthite/
sumahān parivādo hi brāhmaṇānāṃ parikṣaṇe//
kāṇāḥ kubjāś ca ṣaṇḍhāś ca daridrā vyādhitās tathā/
sarve śrāddhe niyoktavyā miśritā veda-pāragaiḥ//
Chap. 52 (fol. 97a).

[118] naiva tasyāḥ pṛthag yajñā na śrāddhaṃ nāpy upoṣitam/
bhartṛ-śuśrūṣaṇenaiva prāpnoti strī yathepsitam//
Chap. 22 (fols. 35b-36a).

[119] Chap. 22 (fol. 36b).

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Viṣṇudharma is an interesting work and has to be valued for its religious matters and more particularly for its philosophical views.[120] It seems to be a compilation rather than an original work, and it is probable that it derived chapters and verses from more ancient works of the same type. Chap. 152 of the Bhaviṣyottara (i. e. Bhav. IV), which agrees remarkably with chap. 86 of the Viṣṇudharma, is said in verse 5 to have been 'spoken out in ancient times by the Vārāha' (vārāheṇa purā proktām). Moreover, in some chapters of the Viṣṇudharma the deity has been named much more frequently as Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu than as Kṛṣṇa, while in others the name 'Kṛṣṇa' or 'Vasudeva' is very common. From the facts that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma Śatānīka wants to hear 'discourses on Nārāyaṇa' (nārāyaṇa-kathā), that in the first two chapters of this work the name 'Kṛṣṇa' occurs very rarely, and that the Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we shall see below, was written by the Pāñcarātras, claims to be a part of the Viṣṇudharma, it appears that in its origin the Viṣṇudharma also was a Pāñcarātra work but was later on appropriated and recast by the Bhāgavatas to its present form and character.

The text of the Viṣṇudharma, that we find now in Mss, does not agree completely with those used by the commentators and Nibandha-writers. A very large number of verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in these works is not found in the present text of this work. For instance, none of the numerous verses of the 'Viṣṇudharma' quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's Śrāddha-kaumudī, Śuddhi-kaumudī and Varṣa-kaumudī, Madanapāla's Madana-pārijāta, and Madhavācārya's Kālanirṇaya, occurs in the present Viṣṇudharma; of the 103 metrical lines quoted from this work in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, only 37 are traceable in the present text of the same; and among the verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the number of those which are not traceable in the present Viṣṇudharma, is considerable.[121] This large proportion of the untraceable verses indicates that a more extensive text of the Viṣṇudharma was once current in some parts of India.

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[120] See especially chaps. 2, 42, 79-80, 95-100, and 102-3.

As to the provenance of the present Viṣṇudharma it is very difficult to say anything definitely. From the facts that of the holy places named in chap. 36 almost all belong to Northern India, and a large number to its western part, and that the small river Devikā has been mentioned on two occasions (in chaps. 32 and 36) and considered as much sacred as the Gaṅgā, Yamunā etc., it appears that the Viṣṇudharma was written in the north-western part of Northern India.

2. THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA[122]

This work, as we have it now, is an encyclopaedic work consisting of three Khaṇḍas and dealing not only with various stories, myths and legends but also with varied subjects, viz , cosmology and cosmogony, geography, astronomy and astrology, division of time, pacification of unfavourable planets and stars, omens and portents, genealogies

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[121] A list of these untraceable verses will be given in Appendix II in the final Volume of the present work.

[122] The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Veṅkaṭ. press, Bombay.

Being based on highly insufficient Ms material, this edition contains various defects, some of which are as follows: —

(a) Besides printing mistakas, it has lacunâe in a large number of places.

(b) One complete metrical line after Viṣṇudh. I. 81. 4a is missing.

(c) In Viṣṇudh. I. 146 the description of the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) is begun abruptly (from verse 41b) with the second half of a verse in which the description of bulls called 'samudra' (ṛṣabhaḥ ... samudrākhyaḥ) was given. The missing verses of this incomplete chapter are to be found in Mat. 207.

(d) A few lines after Viṣṇudh. I. 175. 1 appear to be missing.

(e) Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete, and chap. 224 is wanting.

It may be mentioned here that H. P. Shastri also found chaps. 223 and 224 incomplete (trayoviṃśa-caturviṃśādhyāyau khaṇḍitau) in the Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara described by him in his Notices, II, pp. 164-172.

(mainly of kings and sages), manners and customs, penances, results of actions, rules about *vrata* and *śrāddha,* description and praise of various kinds of donations, law and politics,science of war, anatomy, medicine, treatment of diseases of human beings and lower animals, cookery, manufacture of perfumes, horticulture, grammar, lexicography,

(f) Though in Viṣṇudh. I. 226. 63b-64a Nāḍāyana proposes to mention the names of the 'thirty-two' Mātṛs created by Narasiṃha from his own body, he practically names twenty-four Mātṛs only. Hence a complete verse after Viṣṇudh. I. 226. 66a must have been lost. This verse occurs in the Matsya-p. (179. 69b-70a).

(g) One complete chapter on *āhirbudhnya snāna* is wanting. This chapter is referred to in Viṣṇudh. II. 99. 81b (āhirbudhnyaṃ tathā snānaṃ godam uktaṃ purā tava) and is found quoted, in its entirety, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii. pp. 654-5.

For Mss of the Viṣṇudharmottara, see

(i) Shastri, Notices, II, pp. 164-172 (No. 190.—In this Ms, the work is divided into three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two have exactly the same contents as those of the first two Khaṇḍas of the printed Viṣṇudharmottara, but the last Kāṇḍa ends abruptly with chap. 120 of the third Khaṇḍa of the printed edition. Hence this Ms does not contain the complete text of the Viṣṇudharmottara)

(ii) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 305, 308 and 326.

(iii) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214. (This Ms has been described as follows: kāni truṭita-patrāṇi vihāya sampūrṇam/ navīnā kāśmīrikā lipiḥ).

(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. (This Ms claims to be a part of the Garuḍa-p.).

(v) Bühler, Report, pp. vi-vii.

(vi) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4669. (This is an incomplete Ms of the third 'Kāṇḍa' of the Viṣṇudharmottara. It consists of fols. 8-259, 261 and two more without number. Of its first seven folios, two are missing and the rest are mutilated. The arrangement of its chapters does not, in all cases, agree with that of the printed edition. It ends with a part of chap. 329 of the third Khaṇḍa of the printed edition).

(vii) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 92.

(viii) In his essay on the Viṣṇudharmottara published in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 381-410, Bhüler says that he used Mss Nos. 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77. According to Bühler's description, the text of the Viṣṇudharmottara, as preserved in these Mss, consists of three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two appear to have the same contents as those of the first two Khaṇḍas of the printed edition, but the third 'is much shorter than metrics, rhetorics, dramaturgy, dancing, vocal and instrumental music, sculpture, painting, architecture, Vaiṣṇava theology, and so on. As, due to want of space, it is not possible to give a complete summary of the contents of all its chapters, we note below the different topics dealt with in it, with the mention of some of the most striking points.

Khaṇḍa I.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's[123] request to some sages to speak on various kinds of 'Viṣṇu-dharma' or 'Vaiṣṇava dharma' (duties to Viṣṇu); and the latter's selection of Mārkaṇḍeya to do so. Mārkaṇḍeya's consent to comply with Vajra's request.

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the other two and contains only 118 Adhyāyas'. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 382-3).

(ix) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. i. pp. 1437-41, Nos. 2111-18. (All these Mss are incomplete, the first three consisting of 27 chapters each. No. 2111 is written in Nandi-nāgarī and has the colophon: śrī-garuḍa-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottare prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ).

(x) There is yet another Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara in Bhau Dāji's Collection in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay). This Ms is written in Devanāgarī and was copied in Vikrama era 1925.

For Mss of Stotras, Vrata-kathās etc., claiming to belong to the Viṣṇudharmottara, see

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1309, No. 3605 (Aparājitā-stotra).

(ii) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, pp. 912 and 913 (Aparājitā-stotra); II. ii. p. 1014 (Dvārakā-māhātmya).

(iii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 765-9, Nos. 4101-4 (Aparājitā stotra; Vyādhi-praśamanāpāmārjanaka; and Apāmārjana-stotra), and p. 841 (extracts belonging to the Viṣṇudharmottara).

(iv) Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16, No. 550 (Dharmaghaṭa-vrata-kathā).

(v) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 115 (Trailokya-vijayāparājitā-stotra and Śiva-rātri-vrata-kathā).

(vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214 (Aparājitā-stotra).

(vii) P.P.S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7173-74, Nos. 10578-81.

(viii) Dacca Univ. Mss of the Vaṃśa-kavaca, Aparājitā-stotra, Svapnādhyāya, and Apāmārjana-vidhi.

(ix) Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1162 (Apāmārjana-stotra).

And so on.

[123] King Vajra was the son of Aniruddha and the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa.

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Rudra and others from Nārāyaṇa. Account of Viṣṇu's raising of the earth by assuming the form of a Boar.

Chaps. 4-5.—Description of the nether worlds (viz., Pātāla, Sutala etc.) and the different regions (viz., Varāha-loka, Kālāgnirudra-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, *bhūrloka*, *bhuvarloka* etc.), in which Viṣṇu remains with Lakṣmī by assuming different forms.

In chap. 4, verses 1-4 there is a description of the different measurements of space, viz., trasareṇu, likṣā, rāja-sarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, sarṣapa, *yava*, aṅguli, śaṅku, *hasta*, dhanuḥ, krośa, gavyūti and *yojana*.

Chaps. 6-11.—Geography of the earth.—Names and description of its dvīpas. Names of its mountains, oceans etc. Position of mount Meru, and the names of the cities (of Indra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa and others) situated round it. Description of Jambu-dvīpa, with the mention of the names of its *varṣas*, mountains etc. Description of Bhārata-varṣa[124] (including Laṅkā)[125]—the names of the tribes living in its central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern parts;[126] the names of its seven principal mountains (*kula-parvata*) as well as of the principal rivers arising from them; the names of those chief rivers[127] which arose from the Himālaya and are regarded as specially sacred.

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[124] Viṣṇudh. I. 8. 16-18.

[125] Ibid., I. 8. 9—

lavaṇasyottare pārśve sāgarasya ca dakṣiṇe/
purī laṅkā saṃniviṣṭā yasyāṃ vai rāvaṇo hataḥ//

[126] Viṣṇudh. I. 9. 2-10—

pāñcālāḥ kuravo matsyā yaudheyāḥ savaṭaścarāḥ/
kuntayaḥ śūrasenāś ca *madhyadeśa*-janāḥ smṛtāḥ//
vṛṣadhvajāñjanāḥ pannāḥ suhmā māgadha-cedayaḥ/
kāśayaś ca videhāś ca *pūrvasyāṃ* kośalās tathā//
kaliṅga-vaṅga-puṇḍr-āṅga-vaidarbhā mūlakās tathā/
vindhyānta-nilayāḥ proktāḥ *pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ* smṛtāḥ//
pulindāśmaka-jīmūta-nararāṣṭra-nivāsinaḥ/
karṇāṭakā bhojakaṭā *dakṣiṇāpatha*-vāsinaḥ//
ambaṣṭhā draviḍā nāgāḥ kāmbojāḥ strīmukhāḥ śakāḥ/
ānantavāsinaś caiva jñeyā *dakṣiṇa-paścime*//
strī-rājyaṃ saindhavā mlecchā nāstikyā yavanās tathā/
paścimena ca vijñeyāḥ paṭumānauṣadhaiḥ saha//
māṇḍavyāś ca tuṣāṛāś ca mūlikāś ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ/
mahākeśā mahānāsā deśās *tūttara-paścime*//

Chaps. 12-22.—Description of Kośala and Ayodhyā.

Names and accounts of the kings of the Solar dynasty from Ikṣvāku (son of Vaivasvata Manu) downwards.

Story of Sagara, whose sons were burnt to ashes by Kapila, a form of Vāsudeva. Story of Bhagīratha's bringing Gaṅgā[128] down to earth.

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lampagās tālanāgāś ca maru-gāndhārajāhutāḥ/
himavan-nilayā mlecchā hy *udīcīṃ* diśam āśritāḥ//
trigarta-mīna-kaulūtā brahmaputrāḥ satīgaṇāḥ/
abhisārāś ca kāśmīrāś *codak-pūrveṇa* kīrtitāḥ//

[127] The names of these rivers are as follows:—Kauśikī, Gaṇḍakī, Lohitya, Dṛṣadvatī, Menā, Bāhudā, Mahānadī, Gomatī, Devikā, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Irāvatī, Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Sarasvatī.

Of these rivers, the Kauśikī is said to be the beloved of Kauśika and is described as 'nimnagottamā', 'gajendra-bhinna-kūlā', and 'gaṅgā-tulyā ca puṇyataḥ'; the Bāhudā is said to have restored the severed arm of the sage Likhita; the Devikā is identified with the beloved wife of Śaṃkara; the Vitastā is called 'viṣṇu-loka-pradā' and 'agha-nāśinī'; the Candrabhāgā is described as 'candra-loka-pradā'; the Irāvatī is called 'indrebha-sevita-taṭā' and 'indra-loka-pradāyinī'; the Vipāśā is said to be 'viśiṣṭa-pāśa-vicchede kuśalā'; and the Śatadru is described as 'sarva-pāpānāṃ vipākakāriṇī' and 'vaśiṣṭha-vidrutā'.

For description of all the above-mentioned rivers see Viṣṇudh. I. 11. 2-21. In this description, the Sarasvatī is called 'sapta-prakārā' and is said to consist of seven parts known by seven names, viz., Suprabhā (at Puṣkara), Kātarākṣī (at Naimiṣa), Viśālā (at Gayā), Mānasa-hradā (at Kośala), Sarasvatī (at Kurukṣetra), Ogha-nādā (at Gaṅgā-dvāra), and Suveṇu (on the Himācala).

It is to be noted that in these verses the word 'devī' has been used with respect to the following rivers:— Devikā, Vitastā, Irāvatī, Śatadru and Sarasvatī.

[128] In chap. 19, verses 18ff. it is said that Gaṅgā, being let out from Śiva's matted hair, first entered the Bindu-saras (which had been created by the drops of water of Gaṅgā) and then divided herself into seven streams, of which three (viz., Hlādinī, Hrādinī and Plāvinī) flowed towards the east, three (viz., Sītā, Vaktra and Sindhu) rushed towards the west, and one (viz. Gaṅgā) flowed towards the south by following the track shown by Bhagīratha.

Digressions:—

(i) Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had originated from a drop of Brahmā's perspiration.—Chap. 15.

(ii) Story of Kuvalayāśva, who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the aquatic demon Dhundhu (son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha) with the help of sage Uttaṅka.—Chap. 16.

(iii) Story of Jahnu, king of Kānyakubja, who drank up Gaṅgā, because the latter flooded his sacrificial hall in which preparations were made for the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Jahnu's letting Gaṅgā out through his ear.—Chap. 20.

(iv) Story of Vāmana (Trivikrama), who chastised Bāskali and ushered Gaṅgā into the world. Presence of Gaṅgā in different places in different names and forms.[129]

Chaps. 23-71.—Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Bhārgava Rāma, his attainment of Kṣatriya characteristics, and his performance of various exploits, viz., his extermination of the Saiṃhikeyas as well as of the demons living in the nether world, and his killing of the Kṣatriyas including Kārtavīryārjuna.

Stories of Nahuṣa's change into a snake; Indra's residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasa lake for getting rid of Brahma-hatyā arising from Vṛtra-vadha; Viṣṇu's manifestation as Dattātreya; Vasiṣṭha's curse on Kārtavīryārjuna for burning his forest for pleasing Āditya; birth of Viśvāmitra, and the cause of his turning a Brahmin; Sūrya's offer of an umbrella and a pair of shoes to Reṇukā, wife of Jamadagni; churning of the ocean by gods and demons; Viṣṇu's beheading of Rāhu; and Bhārgava Rāma's meeting with Varuṇa in the latter's residence.

In connection with these stories, portents (utpāta) have been dealt with in chap. 37, bad dreams (duḥsvapna) in chap. 39, and evil omens (durnimitta) in chap. 46.

Chaps. 52-65 constitute a separate section called 'Śaṃkara-gītā,' in which Śaṃkara, being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, glorifies Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Para Brahma and the source of the universe, admits that he himself meditates on Nārāyaṇa, and then speaks on the following topics:—Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha, Nārasiṃha and Vāmana; Viṣṇu's various vibhūtis; praise of devotion (bhakti) to Viṣṇu; enumeration of actions[130] which please Keśava; results of worshipping Viṣṇu by observing fast on the different days (from Sunday to Saturday) of the week, on different Tithis (from Pratipad to Pañcadaśī) and under different Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī); worship of Viṣṇu with the due observance of 'pañca-kāla,' viz., abhigamana-kāla, upādāna-kāla, ijyā-kāla, svādhyāya-kāla and yoga-kāla.[131]

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[129] Gaṅgā is said to sanctify the Daradas, Jahuḍas, Kāśmīras, Nairasas, Ābhīras, Kalāpa-grāmakas, Tāmraliptakas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras and others.—Chap. 21, verses 17-24.

Chaps. 72-73.—Varuṇa's speech to Bhārgava Rāma on the following topics:—Division of time according to *saura*, *cāndra*, *sāvana* and *nākṣatra* māna; measurement of time—duration of a nimeṣa, truṭi, prāṇa, vināḍikā, nāḍikā, muhūrta, ahorātra, pakṣa, māsa, *ayana*, saṃvatsara, *yuga*, *kalpa* etc.; duration of the day and night of the Pitṛs; longevity of Brahmā; condition of *dharma* etc. during the four *yugas*, especially in the Kali-yuga.

Chap. 74.—Condition of Bhārata-varṣa at the end of each *yuga*; and Viṣṇu's appearance in human forms (such as those of Pramati, Bhīmaratha, Vāsudeva-and-Arjuna, and Kalkin) for relieving the earth of her burden.

This chapter gives us information regarding the literary activity of Vālmīki and Vyāsa at the ends of Tretā and Dvāpara respectively. It is said that at the end of the Dvāpara-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vyāsa, divide the original Veda into four, viz., Ṛg-veda, Sāma-veda, Ātharvaṇa and Yajur-veda, and write Vākovākya, Purāṇa and Bhārata, and that at the end of the Tretā-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vālmīki and write the 'Rāmākhyāna'. (See verses 22ff.).

Chaps. 75-77.—Condition of the world at the ends of Manvantaras, Kalpas and Mahākalpas.

Chaps. 78-79.—Entrance of Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmā into the body of Viṣṇu, and their experience at the close of a Manvantara and a Kalpa respectively.

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[130] Such as non-giving of Viṣṇu-naivedya or Viṣṇu-nirmālya to non-Vaiṣṇavas; showing respect to all deities and faiths; honouring the Pāñcarātras; and so on.—Chap. 58

[131] For details see chaps. 61-65.

Chap. 80.—Measurement of time beginning from the origin of Brahmā. Duration of the periods of reign of Vajra and Parīkṣit.

Chap. 81.—Names of fourteen Manus. Difference between the Manvantaras and Kalpas.

Chaps. 82-105.—On astrology and astronomy.—Different kinds of years, and their characteristics and results; names of deities dominating the different seasons, months, planets, stars, *tithis* and *muhūrtas*; names and description of *karaṇas* (viz., *bava*, *bālava*, *kaulava* etc.), and the names of their presiding deities; description of *horā*, *kulika-velā* and *lagna*; nature of the influence of planets and stars on different countries under different circumstances; long and detailed description of the method of performing *graha-yajña* (which consists of *prāk-tantra* and *uttara-tantra*); relative position of the planets and stars.

Chap. 106.—Stories of the birth of Dhruva and the different Planets.[132]

Chap. 107.—Brahmā's creation of gods, demons, sages, Pitṛs and others, as well as of planets, birds, snakes etc.

Dakṣa's descendants (including Satī, who is said to have forsaken her body and been reborn as Umā).

Chaps. 108-109.—Dhruva's descendants including Veṇa[133] and Pṛthu, whose stories have been given at length. Dakṣa's rebirth as the son of Pracetas, and his creation by sexual intercourse.

Chaps. 110-118.—Descendants of Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Parāśara and other sages. Origin of *gotras* and *pravaras*. Restriction as regards marriage among them.

Digression:—Story of Nimi and Vasiṣṭha's mutual curse, and the latter's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa.—Chap. 117.

Chaps. 119-121.—Descendants of Dharma and Kaśyapa.

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[132] For the peculiar stories of the birth of Bhauma, Budha and Śukra, see verses 34-51 and 54-60.

[133] Following the Lokāyatikas Veṇa says:—

> yāvaj-jīvaṃ sukhaṃ jīven nāsti mṛtyor agocaram/
> bhasmībhūtasya śāntasya punar āgamanaṃ kutaḥ//

Viṣṇudh. I. 108. 18-19.

Chaps. 122-8.—Story of Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kālanemi. Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha. Birth of Maruts. Creation of Apsarases, viz., Tilottamā, Ahalyā, Urvaśī and others.

Chaps. 129-137.—Story of Purūravas and Urvaśī.—The latter's origin from Nārāyaṇa's thighs; Tumburu's curse on her; her love for and residence with Purūravas (of Pratiṣṭhāna)[134] on certain conditions; Urvaśī's departure, and Purūravas's vain enquiry for her to beasts and birds; Nārada's request to Urvaśī to pass one night with the king; Urvaśī's meeting with Purūravas in a lake in Kurukṣetra; and so on.

[Though based on its Vedic and Purāṇic versions, this story has innovations and betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya.]

Cause and praise of performing *śrāddha* on the Amāvāsyā Tithi. (Chap. 137, verses 29ff.).

Chap. 138.—Names and classification of Pitṛs; and the effect of offering *śrāddha* to them.

Chap. 139.—The custom of offering *śrāddha*—first introduced on the Varāha-parvata by Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

Chaps. 140-144.—Performance of *śrāddha*.—Detailed description of its procedure; persons entitled to offer *śrāddha* under different circumstances; selection of proper place;[135] different kinds of articles (including meat of particular animals) to be offered to the Pitṛs; proper time and occasions for the performance of *śrāddha*; persons (viz., vārdhuṣika, *cikitsaka* and others) who do not deserve to be invited in *śrāddha* ceremonies; persons[136] who are 'paṅkti-pāvana'; results of performing *śrāddha* at selected places (viz., Gayā, Puṣkara, Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Vārāṇasī, Prabhāsa and Kurukṣetra; banks of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Narmadā; mountains such as Amarāntika-parvata, Varāha-paravata and Himavat; and so on).

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[134] For mention of Pratiṣṭhāna see Viṣṇudh. I. 130. 21; 131. 12; and 135.15.

[135] triśaṅku varjayed deśaṃ sarvaṃ dvādaśa-yojanam/
uttareṇa pataṅgasya dakṣiṇena ca kaikaṭam//
deśas traiśaṅkavo nāma vivarjyaḥ śrāddha-karmaṇi/
kāraskarāḥ kaliṅgāś ca sindhor uttaram eva ca//
cāturvarṇya-vihīnāś ca ye ca deśā narādhipa/
anyeṣv api ca deśeṣu tad-deśa-jana-darśanam//
Viṣṇudh. I. 141. 2-4.

[136] Such as those who have studied any of the four Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, 'sottara Viṣṇudharma', or grammar; those who know Jyotiṣa

Chap. 145.—Pitṛ-gāthās. Method of observing the Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā (as described by Pulastya to Dālbhya).

Chap. 146.—Ways of release from rebirths. Characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) as mentioned by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira.

[This chapter refers to the contents of the Śānti and Anuśāsana Parvans of the Mahābhārata, and to the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Atri, Śaṅkha, Gārgya, Likhita, Yama, Jāvāli and many others.]

Chap. 147.—Procedure and praise of dedication of bulls (vṛṣotsarga) to the Pitṛs.

Chaps. 148-156.—Purūravas's penance and worship of Viṣṇu on the Dvādaśī Tithis in the Himālaya in his previous birth as a king of Madra, his performance of the Rūpa-satra-vrata according to the method described by Atri, and his consequent attainment of uncommon physical beauty through Viṣṇu's favour.

Chaps. 157-161.—Description of various kinds of Dvādaśī-vratas, viz., Rājya-prada-dvādaśī-vrata, Kāma-dvādaśī-vrata, Śukla-pakṣa-dvādaśī-vrata, and Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata (in all of which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped.)

Chap. 162.—Praise of the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata by means of a story of a merchant who strayed into a forest in Dāśeraka and met a group of spirits (preta), one of whom told him that he had been a merchant of Śākala and that, as a result of his observance of the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata and giving food to Brahmins on this occasion at the confluence of the rivers Tauṣī and Candrabhāgā, he used to have a regular supply of food and water even after his death.

In this chapter, the Candrabhāgā is described as a part of the

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or Āyurveda but do not earn their livelihood with these; and so on.—Chap. 143, verses 12-19.

Gaṅgā,[137] and the Tauṣī is called 'arka-nandinī' (daughter of the Sun),[138] and the meeting places of the following rivers are said to be highly sacred:—(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Śoṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devahradā, (h) Vipāśā and Śatadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvatī, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.—Verses 61-65.

Chaps. 163-164.—Description of the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata (which is Vaiṣṇava).

Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Nayanasundarī, wife of king Caṇḍavega of Magadha, who, in her previous birth in a country watered by the river Vitastā, performed the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata on the bank of this river and consequently attained royalty.

In Chap. 164, verses 23-26 the Vitastā has been praised as a highly sacred river and identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 165.—Method and praise of muttering the Gāyatrī; and the cause and efficacy of its use in various kinds of Vaiṣṇava *homa* (viz., lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa etc.) and in *abhicāra*.

[For the method of using Gāyatrī in *abhicāra* and the restrictions under which it is to be employed for this purpose, see verses 55-67.]

Chaps. 166-7.—The method and result of *dīpa-dāna* in Viṣṇu-temples and other places. (The use of animal-fat and of blue or red wicks in lamps is strictly prohibited.—Verses 31 and 35).

Story of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), daughter of king Citraratha of Vidarbha and wife of the king of Kāśi, who always kept herself engaged in *dīpa-dāna* and who, in her previous birth as a female mouse, chanced to cause an extinguishing lamp to continue to burn in a Viṣṇu-temple constructed by Maitreya (the Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) at Nṛsiṃha-tīrtha on the bank of the river

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137-138 candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sītāmalodakā/
mahādeva-jaṭājūṭe gaṅgā nipatitā purā//
candreṇa bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smṛtā tataḥ/
tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tauṣī tatrārka-nandinī//
Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 34-35.

Devikā in Madra and was consequently born and married in royal families.

In chap. 167, verses 15-18 it is said that, for the good of mankind, Brahmins caused Umā, wife of Hara, to come down to the earth in the form of the river Devikā.

Chap. 168.—Praise of Viṣṇu-worship with wild flowers, fruits etc. by poor people.

Chaps. 169-170.—Results of sweeping a Viṣṇu-temple and besmearing it with cow-dung.

Story of a destitute Śūdra and his wife, who felt a strong desire for royal fortune at the sight of Citravāhana, king of Sauvīra, and were reborn as Māndhātṛ (son of Yuvanāśva and king of Ayodhyā) and Prabhāvatī (daughter of Bhīmavega, king of Kāśī) respectively as a result of besmearing, with cow-dung, a Viṣṇu-temple which was situated on the bank of the Sindhu and in which an image of Varāha was established by sages of old. Māndhātṛ's conquest of the world, and his devotion to Viṣṇu.

[The river Sindhu has been praised in chap. 170, verses 4ff.].

Chaps. 171-172.—Being questioned by Vajra as to how this Māndhātṛ could be killed by Lavaṇa with the śūla of Maheśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya says that such an incident became possible simply because the energy of Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavaṃ tejaḥ) resorted to the tip of Śiva's *śūla*.

Mārkaṇḍeya's description and praise of 'vaiṣṇava-tejas', without which, Mārkaṇḍeya says, even Brahmā and Śiva cannot live and which cannot be comprehended without *bhakti*. Mārkaṇḍeya adds that it is Viṣṇu who is the single eternal Being (avināśi tad evaikaṃ) known by different names such as Sadāśiva, Vāsudeva, Kāla, Daiva, Svabhāva, Puruṣa, Praṇava etc. and who, though himself eternal, formless, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, manifests himself as Varāha etc. for accomplishing various objects but is not bound by his actions.

Description of kings of the Tretā-yuga.—It is said that these kings could cleanse their faces with their own tongues; each of them had 68 teeth and possessed seven gems (sapta ratnāni), viz., *hasti-ratna*, *aśva-ratna*, *ratha-ratna*, *bhāryā-ratna*, *āyudha-ratna*, *maṇi-ratna* and *nidhi-ratna*; their movement was not obstructed in the nether world, the sky, the mountains and the sea; and so on.—Chap. 172, verses 37-46.

Chaps. 173-174.—Description of the Ananta-vrata (by performing which Yuvanāśva and Kṛtavīrya had Māndhātṛ and Kārtavīryārjuna respectively as sons) and Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata (in which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped for one year from Kārttika).

[In chaps. 175-191 Mārkaṇḍeya reports, in connection with Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata, what Śāmbarāyaṇī said to Indra.]

Chaps. 175-189.—Accounts of the past, present and future Manvantaras, with the mention of Viṣṇu's killing of the foes of the respective Indras during these Manvantaras by assuming different forms such as those of Matsya, Kūrma, Haṃsa, Aśva, Nṛ-varāha, Mayūra etc.

Chap. 190 —Eternity of Viṣṇu; and his innumerable manifestations in different Manvantaras, viz., Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Narasiṃha, Matsya, Kūrma, Haṃsa, Nṛ-varāha, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma, Māndhātṛ, Pṛthu, Kārtavīryārjuna and others.

Chap. 191.—Śāmbarāyaṇī's statement that it was by observing the Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata that she was able to attain such an extremely long life and residence in heaven.

Chaps. 192-194.—Praise of Viṣṇu-stuti.

Story of the transformation of the Gandharvas Hāhā and Hūhū into an elephant and a crocodile respectively as a result of Devala's curse, because these Gandharvas disrespected Devala by taking him to be ignorant of music.

Fight between the elephant and the crocodile; and the former's eulogy of Viṣṇu, who consequently saved the elephant by killing the crocodile and restored both the animals to their former states.

[This story is called 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa'. In chap. 194, verses 58 ff. Gaṅgā, Naimiṣāraṇya, Prayāga, Brahma-tīrtha and Daṇḍakāraṇya have been praised.]

Chap. 195.—Method of self-protection by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra, which Brahmā discovered for Saṃkara's safety when the latter destroyed Tripura.

Chap. 196.—Protection of others from various kinds of diseases and calamities by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and other Vaiṣṇava *stotras* and *mantras* (especially those of Narasiṃha).

Chaps. 197-198.—Origin of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas and Yātudhānas; and the names of their descendants (including Heti, Praheti, Rāvaṇa, Puloman and others).

Chap. 199.—Story of the birth of Cyavana and his reducing Puloman to ashes with an angry glance when Cyavana's mother Pulomā was being abducted by this Rākṣasa.

Chap. 200.—Birth of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa, and his death at the hand of Śatrughna.

Chaps. 201-269.—Rāma's order to Bharata to chastise the impious (adharma-nirata) Gandharvas living on both banks of the Sindhu; and Bharata's consequent march against, and killing of, these Gandharvas including Śailūṣa, and sending the rest to the Himālaya.

Bharata's march against the Gandharvas has been described elaborately in chaps. 202-209.

According to chap. 203 Rāma sent with Bharata a retinue consisting of actors, musicians, dancing girls, public women, merchants (or contractors), poison-doctors, physicians, surgeons.[139] dentists (dantakārāḥ, dantopajīvinaḥ), engineers, weavers, leather-workers, fishermen, tailors, scribes, astrologers, manufacturers of weapons, washermen, painters etc.[140]

During his march Bharata is said to have seen the following rivers and places:—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sannīti (a holy place in Kurukṣetra), Amarakaṇṭaka, Śatadru (also called Gaurī), Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Devikā, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā, Sudāmā (a river) and Rājagṛha (capital of Kekaya).—Chaps. 206-207.

In chap. 207 the holy place Sannīti and the rivers Yamunā, Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Devikā, Candrabhāgā and Vitastā have been specially glorified as being highly sacred; regarding Sannīti it has been said that here Dadhīca called together all the holy places and rivers on earth before giving up his life for the sake of Indra and that thenceforward all the gods and tīrthas used to visit this place every month; the reasons for the names 'Śatadru' and 'Vipāśā' have been stated; and the rivers Śatadru and Devikā have been identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

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[139] viṣa-vaidyāḥ śalya-vaidyās tathā kāya-cikitsakāḥ//

—Chap. 203, verse 9a.

[140] This list seems to have been influenced by Rāmāyaṇa II. 83. 12ff.

Chap. 208 contains description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagṛha to see Bharata when he was entering the city.

In chaps. 212-247 Nāḍāyana advises Śailūṣa not to declate war against Bharata but to repair peacefully to the Himālaya, and relates the following stories:—

(1) Agastya's drinking of the waters of the ocean for helping Indra to kill the demons who had taken shelter in it after Vṛtra's death; his lowering of the Vindhya which had covered the paths of the sun and the moon; his killing of Vātāpin by thoroughly digesting him; and his furnishing the bows of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with invincible 'vaiṣṇava-tejas.'—Chap. 213.

(2) Viṣṇu's war with and killing of the demon Mālin of Laṅkā,—a story which had been narrated to Rāma by Agastya.—Chaps. 214-215.

The following rivers are said to have joined Viṣṇu in his march against Mālin:—Gaṅgā, Kālindī, Sarayū, Gomatī, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Sindhu, Vitastā, Devikā, Gaṇḍakī, Kāverī, Hiraṇvatī, Ikṣumatī, Parṇāśā, Kauśikī, Vedasmṛti, Narmadā, Sītā, Hrādinī, Pāvanī, Lauhityā, Sindhu, Cakṣu, Sītā, Gautamī, Dṛṣadvatī, and 'others.'—Chap. 215, verses 43-52.

(3) Story of Rāvaṇa and his exploits and death.—Birth of Kuvera from Devavarṇinī by Viśravas, and his residence at Laṅkā which was situated on the mountain Trikūṭa. Birth of Daśagrīva, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā from Kaikasī by Viśravas, their penance at Gokarṇa, and their receipt of boons from Brahmā; Rāvaṇa's leadership of those Rākṣasas who had fled to Pātāla after Mālin's death, his wresting of Laṅkā from Kuvera, and his world-conquest. Rāvaṇa's attempt to molest Vedavatī,[141] daughter of Kuśadhvaja, and the latter's entrance into fire with the threat that she would be born again as an

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[141] For the story of Vedavatī, see chap. 221, verses 17ff.
This story is based on Rāmāyaṇa VII. 17.

'*ayonija*' being for bringing about his destruction; birth of Vedavatī as Sītā; and the incidents in her life (including her entrance into the nether world). Rāvaṇa's taking away of the chariot called Puṣpaka from Kuvera, and his sad experience in Kailāsa (where he was cursed by Nandin that monkeys would bring about his destruction); his victory over the gods; his conquest of Pātāla; and his experience at Kiṣkindhyā (where there was a conflict between Bālin and Sugrīva). Rāvaṇa's meeting with Bali, the former's inability to remove one of the ear-rings which Bali inherited from Hiraṇyakaśipu, and Bali's praise of Viṣṇu who had killed Hiraṇyakaśipu; Rāvaṇa's meeting with Viṣṇu, in whose body he saw all the gods and the whole universe and who told him that he would be born as a human being and kill Rāvaṇa.—Chaps. 219-223 and 238-239.

(4) Śiva's eulogy of Vināyaka, and his burning of Tripura with an arrow, the tip of which was occupied by Viṣṇu.—Chaps. 224(?)[142]-225.

(5) Śiva's killing of the demon Andhaka with the help of the Mātṛs created by himself as well as by Viṣṇu and Narasiṃha whom Śiva had eulogised for help.—Chap. 226. (This chapter contains the names of a large number of Mātṛs including Kālī and Mahākālī).

(6) Birth of Ṣaḍānana on the mountain Śveta; his boons to the Kṛttikās to be worshipped with himself at a time when the moon would remain with the Kṛttikās, and to Gaṅgā to be worshipped on the Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā (which is called Akṣaya-tṛtīyā); Indra's creation of a large number of highly pernicious beings called Grahas, viz., gods, Pitṛs, demons, Rākṣasas, evil spirits, Nāgas etc., for doing harm to Ṣaḍānana's life; Ṣaḍānana's creation of a far larger number of similar Grahas named Skanda, Viśākha etc. to counteract the influence of those created by Indra, and his prescription of particular duties to these Grahas; Indra's praise of Skanda and his worship; Śiva's appointment of Skanda as the general of gods; and Skanda's killing of the demon Mahiṣa and others.—Chaps. 228-230 and 233.

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[142] In the printed ed., chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete and chap. 224 is wanting.

(7) Nārāyaṇa's saving of Yajña from the hand of Śiva.—Chap. 234.

(8) Destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakālī born of Śiva and Pārvatī respectively, because Dakṣa refused to give to Śiva a share of the sacrificial offerings; Dakṣa's eulogy of Śiva at Bhadra-karṇeśvara according to Vīrabhadra's advice; Śiva's boon to Dakṣa.—Chap. 235.

(In this chapter the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Jāhnavī at Bhadrakarṇeśvara as well as the five holy places—'tīrtha-pañcaka', viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīlaparvata and Kanakhala, have been highly praised by Śiva, Mahākālī has been eulogised and described as 'aṣṭādaśa-bhujā', 'śūla-mudgara-dhāriṇī', 'kamaṇḍalu-dharā', 'pītakauśeya-vasanā', and 'nīlotpala-dala-śyāmā', and her worship has been prescribed on the Śukla-navamī).

(9) Story of sage Śveta, who used to worship a Śiva-liṅga and whom Śiva saved from the hands of Yama by reducing him to ashes, because Yama refused to wait till Śveta could finish his worship of Śiva. Description of Viṣṇu-kavaca, with which Śiva protected himself against Yama.—Chaps. 236-237.

(10) Śatrughna's fight with and killing of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa who lived at Madhuvana.—Chaps. 240-247.

Chap. 227 contains the names of herbs, food meterials etc. with which the enraged Mātṛs can be pacified.

Chaps. 231-232 deal with the following topics:—Various kinds of actions which bring people under the influence of the Grahas created by Indra and Ṣaḍānana; causes which encourage these Grahas to exert their influence;[143] symptoms of persons influenced by different kinds of Grahas; and treatment of such persons by means of herbs, *mantras* etc.

In chaps. 248-253 Nāḍāyana further speaks to Śailūṣa on the following topics:—

Beasts and birds descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 248.

Brahmā's appointment of kings over herbs, stars, water, gods,

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[143] For these causes see chap. 231, verses 12b-14a.

Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas, Piśācas etc.; coronation of Indra.—Chaps. 249-250.

Origin of the eight elephants named Airāvaṇa, Padma, Puṣpadanta etc. (which are called quarter-elephants—dig-gajāḥ), and the classification of their descendants.

Location of the eight forests in which the eight quarter-elephants live with their descendants. Characteristics of elephants living in these forests.—Chap. 251.

Monkeys descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 252.

Description of the fight between the elephants and monkeys at Antarvedī. Indra's severing of the wings of elephants and sending them down to earth to serve Lomapāda, king of Aṅga. Lomapāda's authorship of a Sūtra-work on medical treatment of elephants.—Chap. 253.

Chaps. 254-257.—Śailūṣa's determination to wage war against Bharata in spite of Nāḍāyana's advice to the contrary. Inability of the Gandharvas, sent by Śailūṣa, to create the least disturbance in Ayodhyā, Rājagṛha and Bharata's camp.

Description of love-lorn women in Ayodhyā.

Chaps. 258-268.—Description of the war between Bharata and Śailūṣa,—a war which resulted in the death of the latter. Description of the battle-field.

Chap. 269.—Bharata's performance of Viṣṇu's śayanotsava and jāgaraṇotsava for five days each from Āṣāḍha-śuklaikādaśī and Kārttika-śuklaikādaśī respectively; his construction, for his sons Puṣkara and Takṣa, of two cities named Puṣkarāvatī and Takṣaśilā on both banks of the Sindhu; his return to Ayodhyā and worship of Viṣṇu.

Khaṇḍa II

[This Khaṇḍa deals with the duties of kings—rāja-dharma.]

Chap. 1.—Vajra praises Mārkaṇḍeya for narrating, with various other topics, the story of Bharata's successful war against the Gandharvas and requests him to describe what Bhārgava Rāma heard from Varuṇa after reaching the latter's region. Mārkaṇḍeya says that Rāma Jāmadagnya first heard from Varuṇa about measurement of time and then asked him to speak on the duties of kings (rāja-dharma), that Varuṇa referred Bhārgava Rāma to his own son Puṣkara, who, Varuṇa said, had heard about *rāja-dharma* from Indra, and that, in compliance with Varuṇa'a request, Puṣkara took Bhārgava Rāma to his own residence.

Chaps. 2-7.—Being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, Puṣkara spoke on the following topics: —

Necessity of a pious and dutiful king for the establishment of law and order in the country; various qualifications (such as submission to the opinions of ministers and the state-astrologer) that a king must possess; selection, to be made by the king's predecessors as well as by the most prominent people of the state, of a worthy member of the royal family for the throne;[144] the king's oath; appointment of a qualified Brahmin as state-astrologer (sāṃvatsara)—the first duty of the king; qualifications of the state-astrologer, and the king's submission to him; selection of ministers, priest (*purohita*) and chief queen in accordance with the instructions of the state-astrologer; the king's coronation to be performed by the state-astrologer; qualifications of the Purohita (who is to be an Atharvan versed in the Yajur-veda and the Atharva-veda and to have thorough knowledge of the five *kalpas*, viz., nakṣatra-kalpa, vaitāna-kalpa, saṃhitā-kalpa, aṅgiraḥ-kalpa and śānti-kalpa); necessity of Purohita for peace and prosperity of the king; qualifications of ministers, who are to be Brahmins versed in the Vedas and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas;[145] qualifications to be possessed by the chief queen.

Chaps. 8-9—Auspicious signs of men and women.

Chaps. 10-11.—Characteristic signs of good and bad elephants and horses.

Chaps. 12-14.—Making of a chowry, an umbrella and a holy seat (bhadrāsana) for the king.

Chap. 15.—Names and characteristics of jewels to be worn by the king.

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[144] See chap. 3, verse 8, and chap. 4, verse 1.

[145] See chap. 6, verse 2.

Chaps. 16-17.—Construction of bows with metals (such as gold, silver, copper and steel), horns (of buffaloes, *śarabhas* and other beasts), bamboo, wood etc. Construction of arrows, and of swords with steel of different countries, viz., Vaṅga, Śūrpāraka, Videha, Aṅga etc. Characteristics of swords manufactured in these countries.

Story of the origin of 'khaḍga' (sword) from a divine being named Nandaka and of '*loha*' (steel) from the different limbs of a demon named Loha.

[In connection with the selection of materials for the construction of bows, Puṣkara says:

> vaṃśānām api tac chreṣṭaṃ yatra gaṅgā mahānadī/
> sālānām api tac chreṣṭaṃ gomatī yatra bhārgava/
> vitastā-kūlajaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ vetasīnāṃ tathaiva ca//

Chap. 16, verses 14-15a.

The countries manufacturing the best arrows are mentioned in the following lines:—

> śarāḥ kirātajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ kāñcīpura-samīpataḥ/
> tebhyo'pi te śreṣṭhatamāḥ skanda-janma-samīpataḥ//

Chap. 16, verses 20b-21a.

The following verses name the countries producing steel of different qualities for the manufacture of swords :—

> lohaṃ pradhānaṃ khaḍgārthe praśastaṃ tad viśeṣataḥ/
> kaṭīkadūra-ṛṣīkaṃ vaṅge śūrpārakeṣu ca//
> videheṣu tathāṅgeṣu madhyamaṃ grāmacediṣu/
> sahagrāmeṣu nīpeṣu tathā kālañjare 'pi ca//

Chap. 17, verses 21b-23a.]

Chaps. 18-23.—On coronation.—Proper time for coronation; performance of Purandara-Śānti; characteristics of fire in which *homas* are to be performed; procedure of coronation; *mantras* to be used on this occasion,—all these *mantras* being Purāṇic in character and containing invocations to the gods, goddesses (including Durgā mounted on a lion), Dik-pālas, Prajāpatis, Pitṛs, Mātṛs, wives of Dharma, Kaśyapa and others, Nakṣatras, Planets, Manus, Rudras (including Dhūmaketu, Bharata and Kāpāli), Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Suparṇas and others.

[In some of the *mantras* given in chap. 22, there is mention of

(i) Ṛg-veda, Yajur-deda, Sāma-veda, Atharva-veda, Itihāsa, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-veda, Āyurveda, the six Aṅgas (viz., *śikṣā*, *kalpa* etc.), Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, and Pāśupata (chap. 22, verses 129-134);

(ii) a large number of holy places, rivers, lakes etc., the majority of which belongs to the western and north-western parts of Northern India (chap. 22, verses 142-184).

It is to be noted that the names of the rivers include the following :—Sindhu (mentioned thrice), Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Gomatī (mentioned twice), Sarayū, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Vitastā, Devikā (mentioned twice) and Ikṣumatī.

Kauśikī and Karatoyā also have been mentioned.]

Praise of *tīrthas*.

Chaps. 24-25.—The first and the most important duty of a newly crowned king.—Selection of qualified persons for the posts of generals (who should be Brahmins or Kṣatriyas), messengers (who should know the local dialects), body-guards, tāmbūla-dhārin, *sandhi-vigrahaka*, khaḍga-dhārin, kośa-dhārin, sārathi, sūdādhyakṣa, cooks, judge, scribe (*lekhaka*), gate-keeper, gajādhyakṣa, aśvāḍhyakṣa, durgādhyakṣa etc. Conduct of these officers towards the king.

Chaps. 26-27.—Selection of proper place for residence; construction of forts (viz., *dhanva-durga*, *mahī-durga*, *nara-durga*, *vārkṣa-durga*, *ambu-durga* and *giri-durga*) and furnishing these with houses, means of protection, herbs etc.

Chaps. 28-32.—Protection of the king from poison etc. Science of house-building (vāstu-vidyā). Directions about gardening and plantation. Building of temples, and making provisions for the worship of different deities. Praise of rendering service and making gifts to Brahmins; and glorification of Brahmins as superior to, and more powerful than, gods.

Chaps. 33-41.—On the conduct and duties of women.—

Praise of chaste women, and the protection to be given to them by the state.

Duties of a chaste woman.—She is to live under the guardianship of her father, husband or sons. She is not to take to magic (mūlakarma) for any reason whatsoever. In case she becomes a widow, she is to die by mounting the funeral pyre of her deceased husband[146] or remain devoted to him without marrying for the second time. A wife, who dies in the above-mentioned way, is said to have a very happy future. If a widow has none on her husband's side, she is to be maintained by her father or some other relative on her father's side.—Chap. 34.

Duties of women continued.—Their worship of Śrī, Aśokikā, Chando-deva, vāstu-devatā, Viṣṇu, a cow with a calf, the constellations called Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, Kārttika, Gaurī and Nārāyaṇa.—Chap. 35.

Story of Sāvitrī, narrated elaborately to exemplify the power of a devoted wife.—Chaps. 36-41.

Chaps. 42-44.—On cows.—Sanctity of cows; praise of service to cows; medical treatment of various diseases of cows (viz., those of the eyes, teeth, mouth, heart etc.); description of rites (śānti-karma) and measures for the welfare of cows in normal times as well as in various kinds of crises.

Chaps. 45-50—On horses and elephants.—Necessity of these to kings; medical treatment of various diseases of these animals; description of rites (viz., *aśva-śānti* and *gaja-śānti*) and measures for their welfare.

Chaps. 51-60.—Necessity of man-power to the king. Directions about the selection of persons for helping the king in his work of public administration.—Chap. 51.

Medical treatment of females, so that they may give birth to numerous healthy sons.

Nursing and medical treatment of children from their very birth.

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[146] pati-vratā tu yā nārī saha bhartrā divaṃ gatā/
kalpāvaśeṣaṃ muditā pūjyate tridaśālaye//
(chap. 34, verse 41), and
mṛtaṃ bhartāram ādāya yadi vātha pati-vratā/
praviśed dvija-śārdūla jvalitaṃ jātavedasam//
tisraḥ koṭyo 'rdha-koṭī ca yāni lomāni mānave/
tāvanty eva śatābdāni svarga-loke mahīyate//
and so on (chap. 34, verses 47ff.).

Use of herbs and performance of various rites for their welfare. Performance of other rites and sacraments, viz., jāta-karma, karṇa-vedha, niṣkramaṇa, anna-prāśana[147] and vidyārambha.[148]—Chap. 52.

Rites and vows (viz., Rohiṇī-snāna, Saptamī-vrata[149] and Aṣṭamī-vrata) to ensure the birth of male children.—Chaps. 53-55.

Symptoms and medical treatment of various diseases of males.—Chap. 56.

Description of ceremonial baths and vows (viz., Śatabhiṣā-snāna, Ārogya-dvitīyā-vrata,[150] Ārogya-pratipad[151] and Ārogya-vrata) meant especially for ensuring freedom from diseases.—Chaps. 57-60.

Chap. 61.—On *rāja-dharma*.—Appointment of administrative officers, viz., *grāmādhipati*, *daśa-grāmādhipa*, *śata-grāmādhipa* and *viṣayeśvara*, whose activities are to be keenly observed through spies.

Benefits of good administration. Protection of subjects especially from the tyranny of Kāyasthas.[152] Necessity of financial strength. Mention of the manifold avenues of income (viz., revenues, taxes, mines etc.). Laws about treasure-troves, lost articles, inherited property and stolen goods. Rates of taxation on various kinds of indigenous and foreign goods. Protection to be given by kings to Śrotriya Brahmins.

Chap. 62.—Necessity of females in life. The king's duties to the inmates of his harem..

Chaps. 63-64.—Directions about the preparation of food and perfumes.

Chap. 65.—Education and protection of princes; general conduct of a successful ruler; his duties towards his friends and foes; benefits of good deliberation and of maintenance of its secrecy.

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[147] Chap. 52, verses 102-109. This rite includes the testing of the future tendency of the child by means of books, weapons, wares etc.

[148] Chap. 52, verses 123ff. At the beginning of this ceremony, Hari, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and the Sūtrakāras are to be worshipped.

[149] In this *vrata* the Sun is to be worshipped.

[150] In this *vrata* the Moon is to be worshipped at night.

[151] In this *vrata* the Sun is to be worshipped.

[152] bhakṣyamāṇāḥ prajā rakṣyāḥ kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ.—Verse 29.
For an idea of the tyranny of the Kāyasthas in Kashmir see Kṣemendra's Kalā-vilāsa, Narma-mālā and Deśopadeśa, and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, iv. 90 and 621ff., vii. 1226, and viii. 131 and 85-114.

Chaps. 66-71.—Praise of *puruṣakāra* (enterprise). Proper application of the expedients, viz., sāma (which is classified into '*tathya*' and '*atathya*'), bheda, dāna and daṇḍa. The king's possession of certain divine capacities, viz., those of the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, the son of Vivasvat (i.e. Yama), Varuṇa and others.

Chap. 72.—Occasions for application of *daṇḍa*.—Laws about inheritance of property, unclaimed articles, stolen goods, witnesses, mortgaged property, deposits, contract, purchase, marriage, boundary, defamation, criminal assault, theft, adultery, prostitution, holy days, gambling, prize-fighting, labour, embankments, taking of forbidden food, etc.; and nature of punishment in case of violation of these laws.

Chap. 73.—Occasions for application of *daṇḍa*.—Rules of expiation (prāyaścitta) for sin caused by food, killing of animals, theft etc.; and punishment for violation of these rules.

Chap. 74.—Methods of performance of various kinds of *rahasya-prāyaścitta*.

Chaps. 75-76.—Determination of the periods of impurity (aśauca) caused by births and deaths; cremation and other attendant rites (such as offer of food and water to the deceased, consolation of the bereaved relatives, and so on); purification of things (dravya-śuddhi).

Chaps. 80-82.—Duties of the four castes. Origin, nature, and duties of the mixed castes (viz., Caṇḍāla, Māgadha, Āyogava, Vaidehaka, Sūta, Pukkasa and others). Profession of the members of the four castes in times of extreme distress (āpad-dharma); rules about interest and agriculture.[153]

Chaps. 83-84.—Description of ceremonial baths, viz., Pūrvāṣāḍhā-snāna (meant for profit in trade) and Mūla-snāna (for gain in agriculture).

Chaps. 85-86.—Rules to be observed during cohabitation with the wife to ensure the birth of a male child; description of the different sacraments (saṃskāra). Duties of a student.

Chap. 87.—Marriage.—Intercaste marriage—permissible in the descending order of castes; relative position of the wives of different castes; disapprobation of the acceptance of *śulka* (nuptial fee); remarriage of women;[154] forms of marriage; method of accepting the girls of different castes; auspicious time for marriage; rules about *adhivedana*; and so on.

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[153] For directions about agriculture see chap. 82, verses 13ff.

Description of the method of worshipping Śacī before celebrating a marriage ceremony.[155]

Chaps. 88-110. – Daily duties of a householder, viz., answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing etc. Various prescriptions and prohibitions for a householder. – Chaps. 88-89.

Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, and selection of flowers for the purpose. – Chaps. 90-91.

Performance of Vaiśvadeva; offer of food to the manes; giving of fodder to cows; reception of guests; gifts of various things to guests. – Chap. 92.

Instructions about taking food and sleeping. Performance of 'pañca-mahāyajña' as well as of other sacrifices.—Chaps. 93-95.

Description of ceremonial baths (viz., Kṛttikā-snāna, Ārdrā-snāna, Śravaṇā-snāna, Janmarkṣa-snāna, Dikpāla-snāna, Vināyaka-snāna, Māheśvara-snāna etc.) and of special worship of Viṣṇu under particular Nakṣatras and on special occasions for the accomplishment of desired objects, such as destruction of one's enemies, freedom from diseases, and so on.—Chaps. 96-110.

Chaps. 111-123.—On *karma-vipāka*.—Results of sinful acts such as murder, theft, etc. Description of birth of creatures (with a discourse on *bhoga-deha* and the origin of the foetus.—Chaps. 112-114).

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[154] naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe 'tha patite 'patau/
paṇcasv āpatsu nārīṇāṃ patir anyo vidhīyate// (II. 87. 11).
This verse occurs again in Viṣṇudh. III. 329 and is the same as Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30. Both in Viṣṇudh. III. 329 (verse 14) and Parāśara-smṛti, chap. 4 it reads 'patite patau'.

[155] See verses 21ff. During this worship, an image of Śacī is to be constructed with earth, taken with great ceremony to the side of a river or a lake by such women as have their husbands living, and worshipped for three days. While taking the image to the place of worship, these women are to wear red clothes and carry arms in their hands.

Description of the structure of the human body (chap. 115). Passing of the soul out of the body, and the dissolution of the latter into the five elements; description of the region of the dead—*preta-loka* (chap. 116). Actions (viz., the due performance of one's duties, abstention from wine, meat etc., donation of various things, and so on) that lead to heaven; and actions leading to hell.—Chaps. 117-8.

Names and description of hells; results of stealing different articles. —Chaps. 119-121.

Actions that enable people to get over difficulties. Description of various kinds of expiatory penances, viz., Cāndrāyaṇa, Sāntapana, Taptakṛcchra, Kṛcchrātikṛcchra etc.—Chaps. 122-3.

Chaps. 124-129—Praise of muttering the Gāyatrī and the different Sūktas of the Ṛgveda. Method of performing vaśīkaraṇa, uccāṭana etc. with the use of *mantras* of the Yajurveda. Attainment of different objects by muttering different *mantras* of the Sāma-veda and the Atharva-veda and performing *homas* with these. Praise of the Śrī-sūkta and the Puruṣa-sūkta, and their use in *homas*.

Chaps. 130-131.—Duties of vānaprasthas and saṃnyāsins.

Chaps. 132-133.—Mention of various kinds of Ātharvaṇa śānti (purificatory rite) meant for the accomplishment of various objects.

Chaps. 134-144.—Various kinds of heavenly, atmospheric and terrestrial omens (utpāta), as described by Vṛddha-garga to Atri.

Chaps. 145-150.—Mention of the seven *aṅgas* of a kingdom, viz., sāma, dāna, durga, kośa, daṇḍa, mitra and janapada; description of a circle of kings (rāja-maṇḍala) consisting of vijigīṣu, ari, mitra, pārṣṇigrāha, ākranda etc.

Description and application of prakāśa and aprakāśa daṇḍa; occasion for upekṣā; terrifying the enemies by creating artificial omens, shouting, taking to magic, and by various other means; explanation and application of ṣāḍguṇya.

Chap. 151.—Daily duties of kings, viz., meeting the spies, hearing about the income and expenditure, answering the call of nature, and so on (including hearing of disputes and deliberation with ministers).

Chaps. 152-158.—Religious rites to be performed by the king. Description of Viṣṇu-worship for four months (cāturmāsya-vidhi);

worship of Indra's banner (śakra-dhvaja), which Viṣṇu gave to the gods after the latter's defeat in a war with the demons and which was worshipped by king Vasu and others according to the directions of Garga; worship of Bhadrakālī in a picture on Āśvina-śukla-navamī.

Chaps. 159-161.—Description of nīrājana-śānti. Mantras of chatra, aśva, dhvaja etc., and Ghṛta-kambala-śānti, as described by Parāśara to Gālava.

Chap. 162.—Annual coronation of the king.

Chaps. 163-165.—Proper time for marching against enemies. Omens indicating good or evil in marches. Determination of the king's good or evil from questions etc.

Chaps. 166-174.—On astrology and astronomy.—Position of planets and stars, and their influence on the life and activity of the king; astronomical calculations (including measurement of planets and stars).

[All these chapters are written in prose, and in these, Brahmā speaks to Bhṛgu.

Towards the beginning of chap. 166 the former says to the latter: "When, at the beginning of the Kalpa, you were born from my heart, I told you about the movements of the luminaries in twenty-four lacs of verses. ... ... I shall repeat all these very briefly. ... ...".[156]

The colophon of chap. 174 is followed by the words 'samāptaṃ paitāmaha-siddhāntam'.]

Chaps. 175-176.—Determination of proper time for starting against enemies. Rites (such as worship of Vināyaka and other deities, performance of *jaya-snāna* or bath for victory, consecration of weapons, and so on) to be performed before and during the start; the king's conduct in the land of his enemies.

Chap. 177.—Preliminaries of war (viz., bathing of elephants and horses, worship of Nṛsiṃha, and so on). Philosophy and method of war (with the names of vyūhas and the mention of the dexterity of people of different countries in different types of war);[157] praise of death in war; duty of the king after attainment of victory.

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[156] See Viṣṇudh. II. 166—...śrībrahmāṇaṃ bhṛgur vijñāpayāmāsa—bhagavañ jyotiṣām ayanaṃ śrotum icchāmi/ tam uvāca bhagavān pitāmahaḥ/ yadā me tvaṃ kalpādau hṛdayāj jātas tadā mayā te ślokānāṃ caturviṃśati-lakṣaṃ jyotirayanam uktaṃ tad evāsmin vāruṇe yajñe mahādeva-śāpena jvālāṃ bhittvā vinirgatasya janmāntarotpannasya atisaṃkṣiptaṃ vakṣyāmi/ tacchrutvā sarvam eva te pūrva-janmābhihitaṃ jyotir-jñānam āvirbhaviṣyati/

Chaps. 178-183.—On *dhanurveda* (including use of khaḍga, prāsa, śūla etc. in war, and dressing of horses and elephants for the same purpose).

Khaṇḍa III.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's enquiry about the means of attaining happiness here and hereafter; and Mārkaṇḍeya's praise of the worship of deities in sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the observance of fasts, vows etc., on the other.

Praise of worship of deities in beautiful images constructed in accordance with the principles of painting (citrasūtra-vidhānena)

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Vajra to speak on the art of painting (citrasūtram) Mārkaṇḍeya says that knowledge of painting is dependent on that of dancing, knowledge of dancing rests on that of instrumental music (ātodya), and the science of instrumental music is dependent on that of vocal music (gīta), and that one, who is versed in the science of vocal music, can master all the rest.[158]

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[157] See verses 40-43a—

dākṣiṇātyāś ca vijñeyāḥ kuśalāḥ khaḍga-varmiṇaḥ/
vaṅkalā dhānvino jñeyāḥ pārvatīyās tathaiva ca//
pāṣāṇa-yuddha-kuśalās tathā parvata-vāsinaḥ/
pāñcālāḥ śūrasenāś ca ratheṣu kuśalā narāḥ//
kāmbojā ye ca gāndhārāḥ kuśalās te hayeṣu ca/
prāyaśaś ca tathā mlecchā vijñeyāḥ pāśa-yodhinaḥ//
aṅgā vaṅgāḥ kaliṅgāś ca jñeyā mātaṅga-yodhinaḥ/

[158] Verses 3b-7—

vinā tu nṛtya-śāstreṇa citrasūtraṃ sudurvidam/
jagato na kriyā kāryā dvayor api yato nṛpa//
... ...
ātodyaṃ yo na jānāti tasya nṛttaṃ hi durvidam/
ātodyena vinā nṛttaṃ vidyate na kathaṃcana//
... ...
na gītena vinā śakyaṃ jñātum ātodyam apy uta/
gīta-śāstra-vidhānajñaḥ sarvaṃ vetti yathāvidhi//

Going to speak on gīta-śāstra Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following topics:—composition of songs (i) in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and various local dialects and (ii) in prose and verse;[159] classification of verses into *vṛtta* and *mātrika* according to the nature of their metres:[160] mention of some points on grammar, viz., use of *śabda-vibhaktis*, mention and use of different persons, and so on.

Chap. 3.—Mention of the following *vṛttas* (with the number of syllables in a quarter):—Gāyatra, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Paṅkti, Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Atijagatī, Śakvarī, Atiśakvarī, Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi, Vṛtti, Ativṛtti, Kṛti, Prakṛti, Ākṛti, Vikṛti, Saṃkṛti, Vikṛti(?) and Atikṛti.[161] Rules about reckoning the syllables as *laghu* or *guru*. Characteristics of Nivṛt (?), Tamat (?), Virāṭ and Surā; and the origin of the different types of *mātrā-cchandaḥ* (or metres regulated by the numbers of syllabic instants).[162]

Chaps. 4-6.—Characteristics of the speeches of gods, sages,

[159-160] Verses 9-11—

saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ caiva gītaṃ dvividham ucyate/
apabhraṣṭaṃ tṛtīyaṃ ca tad anantaṃ narādhipa//
deśa-bhāṣā-viśeṣeṇa tasyānto neha vidyate/
gītaṃ pāṭha-vaśāj jñeyaṃ sa ca pāṭho dvidhā mataḥ//
gadyaṃ padyaṃ ca dharmajña gadyaṃ saṃkathayā smṛtam/
padyaṃ chando-viśeṣeṇa cchandaś ca bahudhā bhavet//
gadya-padyānubhāvena jñeyau lakṣaṇa-saṃyutau/
padyaṃ ca dvividhaṃ tatra suvṛttam atimuktakam//

[161] Verses 8b-9a—

saṃkṛtiś caika-saṃyuktā kathitā vikṛtir nṛpa/
ṣaḍviṃśatiś cātikṛtiś chandaś coktaṃ manīṣibhiḥ//

The text of this verse is obviously corrupt. According to the Chando-mañjari and the Vṛtta-ratnākara, Atikṛti has 25 syllables in a quarter and Utkṛti has 26.

[162] Verses 17-19—

... ... mātrācchandas tathaiva hi/
uktavarṇākṣaraṃ chando bhaved eka-vivarjitaḥ//
yadā tadā nivṛt-saṃjño hy adhikena tamat tathā/
varṇa-dvayena rahitaṃ virāḍ iti hi śabditam//
adhikaṃ ca surā-saṃjñaṃ kathitaṃ yadu-sattama/
tebhyo bhavanti sarvāṇi mātrā-cchandāṃsi yādava//

demons etc. Definition[163] and classification of *sūtras*; characteristics of their explanation; different kinds of *pramāṇa*; meaning of 'āpta' and 'āpta-vacanābhāsa'; and so on.

Explanation of the terms 'adhikaraṇa,' 'yoga', 'padārtha,' 'hetvartha,' 'uddeśa', 'arthāpatti' etc.

Chap. 7.—Characteristics of Prakrit.

This chapter ends with the following two verses:—

dimātram etad uddiṣṭaṃ madhyā prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/
prayogād anukartavyo vistaro hy ativistaraḥ//
deśeṣu deśeṣu pṛthag vibhinnaṃ na śakyate lakṣaṇatas tu vaktum/
lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-saṃjñaṃ jñeyaṃ hi tad-deśavido
'dhikāram//

Chaps. 8-13.—Sanskrit vocabulary.—

List of synonymous words denoting various divine beings, division of time, rivers, men etc.

Lists of feminine, masculine and neuter words.

Chaps. 14-16.—On poetics (alaṃkāra)—

Definition of *anuprāsa*, and limitation in its use;[164] definition and use[165] of *yamaka*, and its classification into *saṃdaṣṭaka* and *samudga*; definitions of *rūpaka*, *vyatireka*, *śleṣa*, *utprekṣā*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *upanyāsa*, *vibhāvanā*, *atiśayokti*, *svabhāvokti*, *yathā-saṃkhya*, *viśeṣokti*, *virodha*, *nindā-stuti*, *nidarśana* etc.—Chap. 14.

[In some of the verses there are references to older authorities on poetics.—See Chap. 14, verse 7—utprekṣākhyo hy alaṃkāraḥ kathitaḥ sa purātanaiḥ; verse 12—yathāsaṃkhyam iti proktam alaṃkāraḥ purātanaiḥ; and verse 15—ananvayākhyaṃ kathitaṃ purāṇaiḥ * * *.]

Definitions of 'itihāsa' and 'kāvya'.

Definition and characteristics of 'mahākāvya' (which should contain description of towns, countries etc. and have a *nāyaka* and a *pratināyaka*, but should not describe the death of the *nāyaka*).[166]

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[163] Chap. 5, verse 1—
alpākṣaram asaṃdigdhaṃ sāravad viśvatomukham/
astobham anavadyaṃ ca sūtraṃ sūtravido viduḥ//

[164] Chap. 14, verse 2a—
atyarthaṃ tat kṛtaṃ rājan grāmyatām upagacchati/
(tat=anuprāsam).

[165] Chap. 14, verse 4a—
samasta-pāda-yamakaṃ duṣkaraṃ parikīrtitam/

Defects in poetical composition.

Delineation of nine Rasas in Mahākāvyas, viz., *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *śānta*.—Chap. 15.

Prahelikās (Riddles).—Classification of Prahelikās into those which are faulty (doṣāḥ) and those which are faultless. Names and definitions of the Prahelikās of the second type, viz., *samāgatā*, *vanditā*,[167] *vṛttānta-gopikā*, *duḥkhitā*, *paribhāsikā*, *samāna-rūpā*, *paruṣā*, *saṃkhyātā*, *kalpitā*, *nāmāntaritā*, *nibhṛtā*, *samāna-śabdā*, *vyāmūḍhā*, *gucchā*,[168] *eka-cchannā*, *ubhaya-cchannā*, *bahu-cchannā* and *saṃkīrṇā*.

Further classification of Prahelikās into *vyabhicāriṇī*, *naṣṭārthā*, *naṣṭākṣarā*, *varṇabhraṣṭā* and *leśākhyā*.

Restriction on the use of even the faultless Prahelikās.[169]—Chap. 16.

Chaps. 17-31.—On dramaturgy.—

Mention of 'Purāṇa' as having four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Upodghāta, Anuṣaṅga and Saṃhāra) and five characteristics (*pañca-lakṣaṇa*—*sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vaṃśa*, *manvantara* and *vaṃśānucarita*).

Origin of dramas;[170] general form of dramas;[171] classification of dramas into 12 varieties, viz., Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa,[172] Prakaraṇī, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka,[173] Bhāṇa,[174] Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthī, Ḍima and Prahasana;[175] characteristics of these varieties; use of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṣṭa (i.e. Apabhraṃśa) in dramas; peculiarities (as regards names etc.) of different characters; characteristics of the eight types of *nāyikās* (nāyikāṣṭaka-lakṣaṇam), viz., vāsa-sajjā, virahotkaṇṭhitā, svādhīna-bhartṛkā, kalahāntaritā, khaṇḍitā, vipralabdhā, proṣita-bhartṛkā, and abhisārikā;[176] delineation of the nine Rasas including *śānta*[177] in dramas.—Chap. 17.

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[166] Chap. 15, verses 7b-8a—

pratināyaka-ghātas tu vaktavyo netarasya tu/
nāyakasya mahārāja maraṇaṃ naiva varṇayet//

[167] The name 'varjitā' (for 'vanditā') occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

[168] The Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669. fol. 10b) reads 'gūḍhākhyā' for 'gucchākhyā'.

[169] Chap. 16, verse 2—

ślokenaikena vā dvābhyāṃ kartavyā tu narottama/
na kartavyāś ca tā rājan bahu-śloka-nibandhanāḥ//

[170] Chap. 17, verse 7—

itihāsānusāreṇa purāṇānāṃ samīkṣitam/
caritaṃ tridaśānāṃ vā nāṭakaṃ tatra kīrtitam//

[171] In this connection the following verses are to be noted:—

bahu-daivatikaṃ vṛttaṃ kartavyaṃ tu praveśakam/
saṃkṣepoktiś ca kartavyā kartavyo na hi vistaraḥ//
prakhyāta-nāyaka-vadhaṃ na ca tatra praveśayet/
tasya prakāśanaṃ kāryaṃ aṅke'py eva narādhipa//

Characteristics of different kinds of vocal music (gīta-lakṣaṇam); names of particular types of vocal music which are appropriate to the nine Rasas (including Śānta.)—Chap. 18.

Classification and characteristics of instrumental music (ātodya); employment of particular types of instrumental music in the cases of the nine Rasas (including Śānta).—Chap. 19.

Dancing and acting.—Definition of *nāṭya*; necessity of *nṛtta* in theatrical performances; classification of *nṛtta*; construction of the

nāyakābhyudayaḥ kāryo nāṭakānte tathaiva ca/
bahvyo'pi nāyikā yatra tāsām api tathā bhavet//
Chap. 17, verses 16-18.

[172] Chap. 17, verses 19b-21—

kṛtaṃ prakaraṇaṃ tadvat svayam utpādya vastunā//
brāhmaṇo nāyakas tatra vaṇik ca nṛpa-sattama/
evaṃ prakaraṇī kāryā catur-aṅkāpi sā bhavet//
itihāsānubandho vā svayam utpādya vā kṛtaḥ/
bhāratī-karuṇa-prāyo nivṛttaṃ samanantaram//

[173] The Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 11b) reads 'utsṛṣṭakāṅkaḥ', whereas the printed edition has 'catuṣṭayāṅkaḥ'.

[174] The printed edition reads 'prāṇaḥ' for 'bhāṇaḥ' of the Univ. Ms (fol. 11b).

[175] According to the Nāṭya-śāstra, Prahasanas are divided into Bhāṇas and Vīthīs.

[176] The line 'kāntopasarpaṇa-manās tathā jñeyābhisārikā', mentioning 'abhisārikā', is wanting in the printed edition but occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (fol. 12b).

[177] Chap. 17, verse 61—

śṛṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-vīra-raudra-bhayānakāḥ/
bībhatsādbhuta-śāntākhyā nava nāṭya-rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//

stage; religious rites preceding and following a theatrical performance; description of the different modes of *abhinaya*, viz, āhārya, sāttvika, vācika and āṅgika; description of aṅgahāras, karaṇas, śiraḥ-karmans, rasa-dṛṣṭis, hasta-vyavasthās, aṅga-racanā (by means of paints), sāmānyābhinaya, gati-lakṣaṇas etc.—Chaps. 20-29.

Treatment of the nine Rasas (including Śānta)[178] to be delineated in dramas.—Chap. 30.

Description of the 49 *bhāvas* (including *nirveda*),[179] and their relation to the different Rasas.—Chap. 31.

[Chaps. 17-31 are based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra.]

Chaps. 32-34.—In these chapters Mārkaṇḍeya professes to speak 'briefly on *nṛtya-śāstra*.' The topics dealt with in these chapters are as follows:—

Names and description of the various *mudrās* to be performed in dancing.—Chaps. 32-33.

Story of the origin of dancing (nṛtta) from Viṣṇu.—Being eulogised by Brahmā to kill the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Viṣṇu left his bed, moved gracefully on the ocean, and thus created the art of dancing, by which, he said, one can imitate the three worlds.[180]

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[178] For *śānta-rasa* see chap. 30, verses 1-2a—

hāsya-śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāḥ/
bībhats-ādbhuta-śāntākhyā nava nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//
śānto rasaḥ svatantro'tra pṛthag eva vyavasthitaḥ/

verse 4a—

śānta-svabhāva-varṇas tu rasaḥ prokto narādhipa/

and verses 8b-11a—

śāntasya devo vijñeyaḥ paraḥ puruṣa eva tu//
śāntasya tu samutpattir nṛpa vairāgyataḥ smṛtā/
sa cābhineyo bhavati liṅga-grahaṇatas tathā//
sarva-bhūta-dayā-dhyāna-mokṣa-mārga-pravartanaiḥ/
nāsti yatra sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ na dveṣo nāpi matsaraḥ//
samaḥ sarveṣu bhūteṣu sa śāntaḥ prathito rasaḥ/

For mention of *nirveda*, see verse 16.

[179] Chap. 31, verse 11b—

dāridry-eṣṭa-vināśe ca nirvedo nāma jāyate/

[180] Chap 34, verse 17b—

trailokasy-ānukaraṇaṃ nṛtte devi pratiṣṭhitam/

Viṣṇu then killed the demons and imparted the dance, thus created by him, to Brahmā. The latter, in his turn, imparted it to Rudra; and Rudra worshipped Viṣṇu with it.

Praise of worshipping deities with dance; denouncement of the use of dance for earning one's livelihood. Benefits of dancing, as mentioned in verses 30b-31 of Chap. 34—

> īśvarāṇāṃ vilāsaṃ tu cārtānāṃ duḥkha nāśanam/
> mūḍhānām upadeśaṃ tat strīṇāṃ saubhāgya-vardhanam//
> śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ kāmyaṃ vāsudevena nirmitam//—

Chaps. 35-43.—Mārkaṇḍeya's speech on Citrasūtra (i. e. the art of painting)[181].—First invention of the art of painting by Nārāyaṇa, who created Urvaśī after painting her figure on the surface of the earth with the juice of a *sahakāra* tree and taught this new art to Viśvakarman; close relation of painting with dancing; classification of males into *haṃsa*, *bhadra*, *mālavya*, *rucaka* and *śaśaka*, and the description and measurement of the different parts of their body; division of females into five classes; description of the method of wall-painting; preparation of dyes; classification of paintings into *satya*, *vaiṇika*, *nāgara* and *miśra*; peculiarities, in dress etc., of different deities, demons, human beings, prostitutes, warriors and others; representation of the sky, mountains, woods, water, seasons, evening, darkness etc., as well as of the nine Rasas (including Śānta) through painting; selection of places where pictures representing the different sentiments may be placed;[182] types of pictures to be kept in houses, palaces etc.; praise of painting; relation of painting with clay-modelling.

[Chap. 43 ends with the words 'samāptaṃ citrasūtram'.]

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[181] On this highly interesting section see Stella Kramrisch in Calcutta Review, February 1924, pp. 331ff., and Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI, 1924.

[182] Chap. 43, verses 11-13—

> śṛṅgāra-hāsya-śāntyākhā lekhanīyā gṛheṣu te//
> para-śeṣā na kartavyā kadācid api kasyacit/
> deva-veśmani kartavyā rasāḥ sarve nṛpālaye//
> rāja-veśmani no kāryā rājñāṃ vāsa-gṛheṣu te/
> sabhā-veśmasu kartavyā rājñāṃ sarva-rasā gṛhe//

Chaps. 44-85.—Mārkaṇḍeya's speech on the construction of images of deities.—Characteristics of images of the Triad (trimūrti) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (chap. 44). Construction of a lotus with gold, silver, copper or brass for worshipping the intended deity on it (chap. 45).

Causes and benefits of image-worship (chap. 46, verses 1-6).

Description, and occasional explanation, of the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu (having four faces and eight hands), Maheśvara (having five faces and ten hands), the two Nāsatyas, Indra-and-Śacī (who are said to be the same as Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī respectively), Yama (who is accompanied by Citragupta and Kāla and is the same as Saṃkarṣaṇa), Varuṇa (with Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his sides), Dhanada (i.e. Kuvera), Garuḍa, Tāla, Makara, Śiva (having one face and four hands and with Pārvatī at his side), Agni-and-Svāhā, Virūpākṣa, Vāyu-and-Śiva, Bhairava, Viṣṇu (having one face and two hands), Mahī (the Earth, having four hands and being attended with four quarter-elephants), Gagana (the Sky, having two hands and holding the sun and the moon in them), Brahmā-and-Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī (having four hands), Ananta (having four hands and numerous hoods and holding the earth on the middlemost hood), Tumburu (with Jayā and Vijayā on his right side and with Jayantī and Aparājitā on his left), Sūrya (the Sun, who has four hands and beautiful beards and wears a coat and a girdle called 'aviyāṅga',[183] and who is lion-bannered and is attended by Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, as well as either by his four sons named Revanta, Yama, Vaivasvata Manu and Sāvarṇi Manu and his four wives Rājñī, Rikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā or by the other planets), Candra (the Moon),[184] the Planets, Manus, Kumāra (and his other forms, viz., Skanda, Viśākha and Guha), Bhadrakālī (having eighteen hands and mounting a chariot drawn by four lions), Brahmā (mounted on a swan), Vināyaka (having four hands and the head of an elephant), Viśvakarman (having two hands and carrying a *saṃdaṃśa* in one of them), Vasus, Viśvedevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, multifarious divine and semidivine beings (viz., Kaśyapa, Kaśyapa's wives, Dhruva, Agastya, Bhṛgus, Jayanta, Bala, Puṣkara, Jyotsnā, Nalakubara, Maṇibhadra, Vāyu-putra, Soma-suta, Nandin, Vīrabhadra and Artha; Kāmadeva and his four wives; some female deities such as Sarasvatī, Vāruṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Śuṣkā, Śiva-dūtī and others; Kāla, Jvara, and Dhanvantari; the presiding deities of the individual Vedas, Ṣaḍaṅgas, and various other śāstras, viz., *dharmaśāstra*, *itihāsa*, *nṛtta-śāstra*, *pāñcarātra*, *pāśupata* etc.), Liṅga, Vyoman, Nara-and-Nārāyaṇa (with a fruit-bearing *badārī* tree standing between them), Dharma (having four faces, four hands, four legs, and a white complexion), Nṛsiṃha, Varāha, Hayagrīva (having eight hands), Padma-nābha (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī (having two hands and being attended with two elephants holding two pitchers), Viśvarūpa (Hari), Aiḍūka (representing the universe as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara), Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Matsya, Kūrma, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi and his brothers, Vālmīki, the five Pāṇḍavas, Draupadī, Devakī, Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Sāmba and others.—Chaps. 46-85.

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[183] 'Aviyāṅga' (or 'avyaṅga') is the name of the girdle originally worn by Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghen.

[184] For datailed description of the image of the Moon, see chap. 68.

Chaps. 86-95.—Building of temples.—Description of different types of temples (such as Sarvatobhadra etc.) meant for different deities (chaps. 86-88); the architect's selecting, cutting and bringing of wood and stone from forests and mountains respectively for the construction of temples (chaps. 89-90); method of preparing bricks (chap. 91); composition of cement (ch. 92); selection and purification of sites for the construction of temples; special marks and flags for the temples of different deities (chaps. 93-95).

Chaps. 96-117.—Consecration (pratiṣṭhā) of an image[185] of Viṣṇu. Determination of proper time of consecration. Detailed description of the method of consecration (—initiation of the consecrator; performance of toraṇa-nyāsa; preparation of pañca-gavya; purification of the image; performance of adhivāsa; summoning of the principal deity with his attendants; performance of *homa* and of the ceremony of awakening the Bhagavat (bhagavad-vibodhana); bathing and anointing the Bhagavat; offer of various things to the deity; worship of the deity according to Vedic and Sāttvata methods; taking out the image in procession.

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[185] In explaining the neccessity of summoning Viṣṇu although he pervades the universe, Mārkaṇḍeya supports image-worship thus:—

ādau kṛtvā mahābhāga sākāre lakṣa-bandhanam/
tataḥ samartho bhavati śūnye dhyāne narottama//

Chap. 108, verses 26b-27a.

Chaps. 118-125.—Results of, and occasions for, worshipping Viṣṇu's different manifestations[186] and muttering their names; proper time and places[187] of such worship and muttering.

Chaps. 126-225.—Description of various Vratas, viz., Brāhmī Pratipad, Trimūrti-vrata, Pauruṣī Pratipad, Prakṛti-Puruṣa-vrata, Nāsatya-dvitīyā-vrata, Bālendu-dvitīyā-vrata, Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā-vrata, Trivikrama-tṛtīyā-vrata (of three varieties), Viṣṇu-trimūrti-vrata, Viṣṇu-caturmūrti-vrata (of fifteen varieties), Pañca-mūrti-vrata (of four varieties), Ṣaṇmūrti-vrata, Sapta-mūrti-vrata, Pātāla-vrata, Sapta-dvīpa-vrata, Sapta-samudra-vrata, Sapta-śaila-vrata, Sapta-loka-vrata, Sapta-nadī-vrata, Sapta-hrada-vrata, Saptarṣi-vrata, Marud-vrata, Sūrya-vrata (with the mention of the names of those who follow the Sun in the different months), (Saura-)-Saptamī-vrata, (Saura-) Rakta-saptamī-vrata, Aṣṭāvasu-vrata, Maheśvarāṣṭamī-vrata, Parvatāṣṭamī-vrata, Bhadrakālī-vrata, Viśvedeva-vrata, Aṅgiro-vrata, Dharma-vrata, Rudra-vrata, Bhṛgu-vrata, Sādhya-vrata, Dvādaśāditya-vrata, Kāmadeva-vrata, Dhana-vrata, Vāyu-vrata, Virūpākṣa-vrata, Yama-vrata, Maheśvara-vrata, Pitṛ-vrata, Vahni-vrata, Candra-vrata, Paurṇamāsī-vrata, Varuṇa-vrata, Śakra-vrata, Brahmakūrca-vrata, Mahāvrata, Roca-vrata, etc.

The deities, to be worshipped in these Vratas, are called the different forms of Viṣṇu.

In chaps. 215-220 Mārkaṇḍeya reports to Vajra what Pulastya said to Dālbhya about the procedure of some Vratas. These six chapters form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptaḥ pulastya-dālbhya-saṃvādaḥ.'

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[186] Vālmiki, Dharma, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Indra, Pṛthu and Divākara also are regarded as Viṣṇu's manifestations.—See chaps. 118-121.

[187] The names of places include the following:—Puṣkara, Kālañjara, Sindhu-kūla, Kāśmīra, Karṇāṭa, Madra-deśa, Prāgjyotiṣa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Malaya, Aṅga, Mūlasthāna, Gayā, Lohadaṇḍa, Vṛndāvana, Uḍra ('where Viṣṇu remains as Puruṣottama'—uḍreṣu puruṣottamam) etc.—See chaps. 121 and 125.

Chaps. 223-224 contain the story of Aṣṭāvakra, who learnt, from Kuvera and an old woman, about the various Roca-vratas and the unstable nature of women respectively.

Chaps. 226-342.—In these chapters, which constitute the Haṃsa-gītā, Viṣṇu is said to have assumed the form of Haṃsa and spoken to the sages on the following topics:—

Duties of the four main castes and of the mixed castes. Duties of students and householders. Selection of food[188] (bhakṣyābhakṣya). Purification of things (dravya-śuddhi). Impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage. Good manners and customs. Sacraments. Various prescriptions and prohibitions. Sins and expiations. Results of actions. —Chaps. 227-237.

[None of these chapters contains anything striking. They consist mainly of verses derived from the Manu-smṛti, Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Parāśara-smṛti etc.]

Various unfavourable symptoms (ariṣṭa) of approaching death.—Chap. 238.

Evils of nescience (ajñāna), sins, passion, overjoy, self-conceit, intoxication, greed, anger, atheism, egotism, want of purity, violation of ācāra, telling lies (except in some special cases), and practice of *hiṃsā* (except in certain special cases).—Chaps. 239-252.

Results of various sinful acts.—Chap. 253.

Benefits of the following:—acquirement of knowledge (jñāna), practice of *dharma*, service to superiors, study of sacred books (viz., the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Upavedas, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata, Purāṇa etc.), practice of *brahmacarya*, and begetting of sons.—Chaps. 254-259.

Praise of reputation (kīrti), fame (yaśaḥ), sacrifice (yajña), good conduct (śīla), self-control, truth, religious austerity, bravery (especially in war), *ahiṃsā*, tolerance (kṣamā), gratitude, good manners and customs, purity (śauca), visit to holy places, fasting, mental purity, *śraddhā*, and bath.—Chaps. 260-277.

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[188] Food offered by raṅgāvatārins, pāṣaṇḍas, cikitsā-jīvakas, āyudha-jīvins, śāstra-vikrayakārins, caila-dhāvakas and others is not eatable.—Chap. 230, verses 1ff.

Method and praise of muttering the *mantra*, performance of prāṇāyāma, and practice of pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi. —Chaps. 278-284.

Praise of perseverance (vyavasāya) and determination (saṃkalpa), which are at the root of final emancipation.—Chaps. 285-286.

Praise and results of performing *homa*, worshipping deities with the offer of various things and rendering service to them, offering different articles to the Pitṛs, performing the rites of hospitality to guests, serving Brahmins and cows, showing compassion, becoming courteous, speaking sweet words, and being enterprising.—Chaps. 287-295.

Praise and results of digging wells, tanks etc., planting trees, plants and creepers, making embankments and well-furnished *prapās* (i. e. places for distributing water to travellers), and serving and helping the travellers in various ways.—Chaps. 296-298.

Classification of wealth into (a) white (śukla), (b) variegated (śabala) and (c) black (kṛṣṇa), and the ways of earning these different kinds of wealth.—Chap. 299.

Praise of donation. Proper time, place[189] and recipients (who are Brahmins in most cases).—Chap. 300.

Certain rules about receiving gifts; deities presiding over the different kinds of gifts; methods of receiving these gifts.—Chap. 301.

Results of assuring safety (abhaya-dāna) under different circumstances.—Chap. 302.

Results and praise of vidyā-dāna,[190] kanyā-dāna (according to the

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[189] The names of places, as specially mentioned in verses 25-29, are the following:—Puṣkara, Prayāga, Prabhāsa, Naimiṣa, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā, Amarakaṇṭaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīla-parvata, Kanakhala, Śāligrāma, Vārāṇasī, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Sindu-sāgara-sandhi, Tritakūpa, Plakṣa-prasravaṇa, Camasonmajjana, Mahālaya, Kedāra, Bhṛgutuṅga, Mānasa, Uttara-mānasa and Dadhi-tīrtha.

[190] In connection with vidyā-dāna, special mention has been made of teaching the Vedas, Upavedas, Vedāṅgas, Dharma-śāstras, Siddhāntas and other śāstras, the different kinds of arts (śilpa), and dhanurveda.—Chap. 303.

Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya forms), bhūmi-dāna,[191] go-mahiṣa-dāna, dadhi-dugdhādi-dāna, and kapilā-dāna.—Chaps. 303-306.

Description and praise of ghṛta-dhenu-dāna, tila-dhenu-dāna and jala-dhenu-dāna.—Chaps. 307-309.

Results and praise of suvarṇa-rūpyādi-dāna, muktā-marakata-vaidūryādi-dāna, śayyāsanādi-vividha-vastu-dāna, dāsa-dāsī-dāna, hasty-aśvoṣṭra-gardabhādi-dāna, vastra-dāna,[192] śirastrāṇa-hastatrāṇa-pādatrāṇādi-dāna, dhānya[193]-yava-godhūma-tila-mudgādi-dāna, guḍa-phāṇitādi-dāna, and anna-dāna.—Chaps. 310-315.

Results of making gifts to different types of recipients and at different times.—Chaps. 316-319.

Results of taking one meal a day and of observing fast for one day or more.—Chap. 320.

Names of different regions (*loka*) attainable by those who perform different kinds of pious acts.—Chap.321.

Duties of devoted wives.—Chap. 322.

Duties of kings.—Appointment of ministers and other officers; construction of well-provided forts; marriage; appointment of officers (viz., grāmādhipa, daśa-grāmādhipa, śata-grāmādhipa and deśeśvara) for carrying on rural administration; levying of taxes;[194] and so on. —Chap. 323.

Treatment of *vyavahāra* (administration of justice) under the following heads:—constitution of the court of justice; laws about summoning the accused and placing him under legal restraint; method of recording a plaint; legal procedure; examination of witnesses; laws about mortgage, gifts etc.; different kinds of evidence (viz., sākṣin,

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[191] Land has been classified into śāka-bhūmi, ārāma-bhūmi, udyāna-bhūmi, ākara-bhūmi, gṛha-bhūmi etc.—See Chap. 304.

[192] In chap. 313 clothes have been classified, according to their materials, into kārpāsika, *sa-roma*, āvika, kṣauma, kuśa-nirmita, kauśeya, *krimija*, mṛga-lomika, *valkalaja*, and sumera-kadaly-ādi-nirmita.

People are prohibitted from giving to Brahmins clothes coloured blue or red. —Chap. 313, verses 3 and 11.

[193] In chap. 314 there is mention of different kinds of rice, viz., rakta-śāli (which is said to be the best of all), *kalama*, mahāśāli, kāṣṭha-śāli, vrīhi, śyāmāka, śuka-dhānya etc.

[194] For the rates of taxes see chap. 323, verses 38-44.

lekhya, *bhoga*, and *divya*); comparative strength of title and possession; method of writing a document (*lekhya*); qualification of witnesses; description of the different kinds of ordeals;[195] recognition of the eight forms of marriage;[196] legal position of the twelve kinds of sons (viz., *aurasa*, putrikā-putra, kṣetraja, *paunarbhava*, kānīna, sahoḍha, gūḍhotpanna, *dattaka*, krīta, *apaviddha*, *upagata* and śūdrā-putra); laws of partition and inheritance, and of debt, mortgage and deposit; laws about joint-stock companies; settlement of disputes between masters and servants; laws about transgression of compact, about purchase and sale, about guilds and corporate bodies, and about boundary disputes; determination of the nature of punishment and the amounts of fine in different kinds of crimes (viz., theft, murder, adultery, drinking of wine, killing of lower animals, defamation, criminal assault, etc.).—Chaps. 324-338

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[195] In chap. 328 there is mention of eight kinds of ordeals—

kośaṃ dhaṭaṃ viṣaṃ cāgnim udakaṃ tapta-māṣakam/
phālaṃ ca taṇḍulaṃ caiva divyāny aṣṭau vidur budhāḥ// (verse 6).

[196] The following lines (on the different forms of marriage, remarriage of married girls, etc.) are interesting.—

prājāpatyas tathā daivo brāhmaś cāpi śubhās trayaḥ//
gāndharvo rākṣasaś caiva madhyamau parikīrtitau/
āsuraś caiva paiśāca ārṣaś caiva tathādhamaḥ//
na te kāryāḥ prayatnena kadācid api kenacit/
āsurasya tathārṣasya viśeṣo naiva vidyate//
śulkam eva tato jñeyam alpaṃ vā yadi vā bahu/
prāṇi-vikrayiṇaḥ sarve narakaṃ yānti mānavāḥ//
viśeṣeṇa ca yaḥ putraṃ vikrīṇāti svakaṃ naraḥ/
narake vasatiṃ tasya bahūn abda-gaṇān viduḥ//
mṛte bhartari yā kanyā kevalaṃ hasta-dūṣitā/
sā ced akṣata-yoniḥ syāt punaḥ saṃskāram arhati//
ity evaṃ kecid icchanti na tan mama mataṃ dvijāḥ/
saptame hi pade vṛtte nānyam arhati sā patim//
vācā dattā tu yā kanyā mantraiś caiva na saṃskṛtā/
anyasya sā bhaved deyā sati bhartari doṣiṇī//
naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe 'tha patite patau/
pañcasv āpatsu nārīṇāṃ patir anyo vidhīyate//
Chap. 329, verses 6b-14.

trīṇi varṣāṇy upāsita kumāry ṛtumatī satī/
ukta-kālāt paraṃ kanyā vindate sadṛśaṃ patim//
Chap. 329, verse 28.

The verse 'naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite', as occurring in Viṣṇudh II. 87. 11, reads 'patite 'patau'.

[Chaps. 324-338 abound in verses taken from the Vyavahāra-section of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Some of the verses of these chapters have been taken from the Dharma-śāstras of Manu, Nārada, Parāśara and others.]

Duties of vānaprasthas and *yatis*.—Chaps. 339-340.

[These two chapters contain verses of the Manu-smṛti; and the second has a few metrical lines from the Upaniṣads.]

Results of building new Viṣṇu-temples or repairing old ones, constructing images of Viṣṇu, serving Viṣṇu in various ways, singing his praise, and offering to him various things (including female slaves and dancing girls).—Chap. 341.

The sages' eulogy of Viṣṇu, and their vision of the universe in the latter's body. Praise of the Haṃsa-gītā.—Chap. 342.

[The colophon of chap. 342 is followed by the words 'haṃsa-gītā samāptā.']

Chaps. 343-348.—In glorifying Viṣṇu as extremely kind to his devotees, Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the stories of (a) Viṣṇu's favour to Garuḍa, although the latter, being offended with the former for assuring safety to a Nāga named Sumukha, boasted of his own capacity and reproached Viṣṇu as ungrateful, (b) Viṣṇu's birth as Vāmana to recover Indra's kingdom from Bali, and (c) king Vasu Uparicara's self-protection in the nether world by means of the Aparājitā Vidyā which was instructed to him by Bṛhaspati, and his winning of Viṣṇu's favour.

In these stories there are eulogies of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa and a description of the Vaiṣṇavī Aparājitā Vidyā.

Chaps. 349-354.—Glorification of Viṣṇu by means of the stories of—

(a) Nārada, who went to Śveta-dvīpa in accordance with the advice of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, pleased Vāsudeva there by eulogising him and by taking to ekānta-bhāva, learnt from him about thousands of his past and future manifestations, and won Vāsudeva's favour by zealously worshipping him in accordance with the method described to him by Nara and Nārāyaṇa (chaps. 349-353), and

(b) a Sāttvata named Viṣvaksena, who, being 'ekānta-bhāvopagata', violated the order of a Māheśvara and worshipped Narasiṃha, instead of Śiva, in a Śiva-liṅga, and whose life was saved from the hands of the Māheśvara by Viṣṇu himself who came out of the Śiva-liṅga by assuming the form of Narasiṃha (chap. 354).

Chap. 355.—The hymn (called Liṅgāsphoṭa) that was recited by Viṣvaksena.

Conclusion of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

From the summary of the contents given above it is evident that the Viṣṇudharmottara is an ambitious work containing chapters on multifarious subjects. But it does not claim originality in all matters. There are indications which show that this work has more the character of a compilation than that of an original work.[197] It contains summaries of, and extracts and isolated verses from, some of the early works of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. For instance, it widely utilises the Rāmāyaṇa and incorporates a large number of verses from the Mahābhārata,[198] the Bhagavad-gītā[199] and the Upaniṣads.[200] In its chapters on astronomy and astrology, it has verses from the works

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197 For instance, see Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16—

> tasmāt tvaṃ rāja-śārdūla praṣṭum arho dvijottamān/
> vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān sarahasyān *sasaṃgrahān*//

198 For example, Viṣṇudh. III. 343-355 are based on the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata; the verse 'sāṃkhyaṃ yogaṃ pāñcarātraṃ' (Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34 and II. 22. 133) is much the same as Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64; and so on.

199 For verses borrowed from the Bhagavad-gītā see Viṣṇudh. I. 38. 10, 52. 5b-7a, 122. 9b-10a, 171. 10-11, 172. 8, 20 and 33, and 190. 14.15; II. 74. 23, 78. 28-34, and 82. 33; and so on.

200 Viṣṇudh. III. 340.40=Śvetāśvataropaniṣad 3.20=Kaṭhopaniṣad 1.2.20.
,, III. 340.41= ,, 3.8
,, III. 340.42b-43a= ,, 3.9
,, III. 340.43b-c= ,, 4.6=Muṇḍakopaniṣad 3.1.1.
etc. etc.

of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati.[201] In Viṣṇudh. II. 154 (verses 18 and 22) Garga is said to have instructed king Vasu on the method of worshipping the Śakra-dhvaja (banner of Indra); in Viṣṇudh. II. 134-144 Vṛddha-garga speaks to Atri on various kinds of omens; and in Viṣṇudh. II. 159-161 Parāśara is said to have spoken to Gālava on the *mantras* of *chatra*, *aśva* etc. as well as on Ghṛta-kambala-śānti. Viṣṇudh. II. 166-174, which constitute a distinct section called 'Paitāmaha-siddhānta' and have Brahmā and Bhṛgu as the interlocutors, most probably give the summary of a bigger work of some similar title. Viṣṇudh. III. 86-95 (on the building of temples) are said to have been based on an earlier work ascribed to Pitāmaha (Brahmā).[202] In its sections on ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta, the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to Manu as a law-giver on several occasions[203] and utilises the language and contents chiefly of the Manu-smṛti,[204]

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[201] For instance, the verse 'mayūra-candrikābho vā', which Vallālasena found in his Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara, occurred in the work of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, p. 17), and Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 27b-28a (udayāstamane bhānoḥ etc.) greatly resembled a verse of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 290-1); Viṣṇudh. II. 136. 1, 135. 6a and 7a, 137. 5b-6a, 11a, 7a, 6b and 7b-8a, and 141. 1 occurred in the work of Vṛddha-garga (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 416, 427, 429, 441, 442-3, 443, 444 and 563); Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 34b-35a, 26b-27a, 33b-34a, and 48b-49a, and III. 238. 2, 31, 27, 26, 28, 19 and 32 occurred in the work or works of Parāśara (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 66, 86, 90, 101, 516, 517, 526, 541 and 551); Viṣṇudh. II. 135. 6a and 7a, 156. 1-2 and 5, 137. 7a and 6b, 141. 1, and 134. 14-26 occurred in the work of Bṛhaspati (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 427, 429, 437, 442-3, 443, 563 and 743-4); and so on.

[202] Viṣṇudh. III. 86. 139—

prāsāda-lakṣaṇam idaṃ kathitaṃ samāsād
ālokya pūrva-caritaṃ hi pitāmahoktam/
śāstraṃ hitāya nara-sattama mānuṣāṇāṃ
dhāryaṃ tvayā tad atiyatna-pareṇa nityam//

[203] Viṣṇudh. II. 72. 43- ......manur abravīt (=Manu-smṛti 8. 242).
„ II. 72. 48- ......iti svāyambhuvo'bravīt.
„ II. 72. 97- ......manur abravīt (=Manu-smṛti 8. 339).

[204] The Viṣṇudharmottara (especially II. 61-131 and III. 226-342) has incorporated a large number of verses from chaps. 2ff. of the Manu-smṛti, as the following list will indicate.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti,[205] Nārada-smṛti,[206] Viṣṇu-smṛti[207] and Parāśara-smṛti.[208] It also seems to have incorporated verses from the Smṛti-works

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Viṣṇudh.	Manu-smṛti
II. 24.3	= 7.55.
II. 26.7	= 2.52.
II. 61.2a, 4a	= 7.115a, 116a.
II. 61.42a, 42b-45, 46-48	= 8.36a, 30-33a, 27-29.
II. 61.62-63a, 64b-67	= 7.131b-132, 133b-136.
etc.	etc.
II. 65.37	= 8.26.
II. 65.43b, 44a, 45, 46-47, 48-49, 50-51, 52-53, and so on	= 7.38a, 39a, 40, 43-44, 89-90, 82-83, 87-88, and so on.
II. 70.6	= 8.128
II. 70.8, 14b-15a and so on	= 7.25, 18 and so on.
II. 72.5, 6-11, 12-13 and so on	= 8.138, 27-32, 34-35, and so on.
Viṣṇudh.	Manu-Smṛti
II. 73.2	= 11.45.
II. 73.7-12	= 4.209b-211a, 212a, 213-214a, 216b, 214b.
II. 73.14	= 4.215
etc.	etc.
II. 74.1, 3-11, 13-21	= 11.247-265.
II. 75.2a, 25a-b	= 5.59a, 103.
II. 79.1b-2a	= 5.123.
II. 85.11, 19	= 2.31, 36.
II. 86.1, 7	= 2.69, 52.
II. 87.15	= 3.21.
II. 130.3-32	= 6.1-28a, 29b-31.
II. 131.1-22, 24-63	= 6.33-61, 63-97a.
etc.	etc.
III. 228.1	= 2.69.
III. 230.12b-14	= 5.5a, 6a, 5b, 7.
III. 232, 1a, 2b	= 5.59a, 61b.
etc.	etc.

[205]

Viṣṇudh.	Yāj.
II. 72. 180b	=II. 235a.
II. 72. 182a	—cf. II. 224a.
II. 72. 182b	—cf. II.239a.(Yāj. reads 'tripaṇo damaḥ').
II. 72.183,184,185, 186-7, 188,189.	=II.240,279,282, 295-6,303,306.
Viṣṇudh.	Yāj.
II. 105.2-8a,10b-11a, 10a, 12b-13a, 12a, 9b,14-16,17b-18b, 19-22,23,24-25.	=I. 271-288a, 289b-290a, 191-2.
etc.	etc.
III. 231.3a, 4b-5a, 6b-7	=I. 188a, 114, 186-7a.
III. 232. 6b-7a	=III. 23.
etc.	etc.

[206]

Viṣṇudh.	Nārada-smṛti
III. 324. 3	=1.2.
,, ,, 13b	=1.49a.
,, ,, 14b-17a	=1.52-55a.
,, ,, 34b-35a	=4.35b-36a.
,, ,, 45	=3.18.
III. 325. 1	=4.84.
,, ,, 2	=4.85.
Viṣṇudh.	Nārada-smṛti
III. 325. 3	=4.90.
,, ,, 4	=4.92.
III. 327. 1-4a	=4.149-150, 151b-152.
III. 328, 67b-68a	=4.337.
,, ,, 69	=4.338.
etc.	etc.

[207] For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 142. 13b-14a (etāni śrāddha-kālāni etc.) is the same as Viṣṇu-smṛti 76. 2 (etāṃs tu śrāddha-kālān vai etc.).

For connections between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇu-smṛti as regards śrāddha, see W. Caland, Altindischer Ahnenkult, Leyden 1893, pp. 68 and 112. Cf. also Abegg, Der Pretakalpa, pp. 5ff.

[208] Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30 (naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh.

of Devala[209] and Bṛhaspati,[210] which are now lost. Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 are clearly based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, from which a large number of verses has been retained in these chapters.[211] Similarly, the chapters on *citra-sūtra*,[212] *āyurveda*, *hasti-cikitsā*, *aśva-cikitsā* etc. must have been based on older works. In its chapters on *alaṃkāra* the Viṣṇudharmottara often refers to the opinions of ancient writers on poetics (purātana).[213] The stories of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), Śāmbarāyaṇī and gajendra-mosaṇa in Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 167 (verses 2ff.), 175-191 and 192-194 are undoubtedly derived from the same as given in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 32, 27 and 67 respectively. In narrating these stories the Viṣṇudharmottara not only retains a large number of verses of the Viṣṇudharma but also introduces innovations not found in the

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II. 87. 11 and III. 329. 14; Parāśara-smṛti 3. 39 (anāthaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ pretaṃ etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh. II. 76. 2; and so on,

[209] For verses common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Devala-smṛti, see Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. pp. 95-96.

[210] For instance, the verse 'ekādaśy aṣṭamī ṣaṣṭhi' is ascribed to Bṛhaspati in Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 47 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 190 and 300; the line 'brahmāṇaṃ keśavaṃ śaṃbhuṃ' is ascribed to Bṛhaspati and the Viṣṇudharmottara in the Dacca Univ. Mss of Raghunandana's Āhnika-tattva; and so on.

[211]

Viṣṇudh.	Nāṭya-śāstra
III. 24.1a,2a,3b,5a	=8.16b,20a, 22a,24a.
III. 24.6-7a	=8.26a, 25b, 27a.
etc.	etc.
III. 25.1-2	=8.38-39.
" " 3-4	—cf. 8.40-41.
" " 5a, 5b, 6b	=8.42b, 44b, 46a.
etc.	etc.
III. 26. 1-3	=9.4-5 and 6b-7a,
" " 4	—cf. 9.8a.
" " 5-9a, 10	=9.8b-12, 14a, 15a.
etc.	etc.

Viṣṇudh.	Nāṭya-śāstra
III. 27.2b-3a, 5b-6a, 18b-19a, 21-23a, 24b-25a, 22	=23.5, 10,92b-93a, 102b-104, 97b, 99a, 108.
etc.	etc.
III. 29.36, 37a	=13.13, 20a.
etc.	etc.
III. 30.2b-3a, 4b-8a	=6.39, 42-45.
etc.	etc.
III. 31.2, 3, 11b	=7.10, 9, 28a.
" " 14a	—cf. 7.33a.
" " 54-56	=6.77-83a.
etc.	etc.

Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 may be used for solving the textual problems relating to the Nāṭya-śāstra.

[212] The 'citra-sūtra' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmata, verse 123.

[213] Viṣṇudh. III. 14. 7, 12 and 15.

latter. For instance, it identifies the river Devikā with Umā, wife of Hara,[214] elaborates Śāmbarāyaṇī's account with the mention of the names of many of Viṣṇu's manifestations, and says that two Gandharvas named Hāhā and Hūhū were transformed into the elephant and the crocodile by Devala's curse. So, there is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara gives the later versions of these stories. It is probable that Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 169-170 (on Māndhātṛ's activities in his previous birth as a Śūdra) and 196 (on the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra) also are based on Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 82 and 69 respectively. It is needless to multiply examples. It is to be noted that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not utilise Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṃkāra, Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, or any other work written later than 500 A. D. and that although the Viṣṇudharmottara is indebted to earlier authorities for many of its materials, it has not failed to improve considerably upon the borrowed portions by innovations of its own. For instance, in his Adbhutasāgara[215] Vallālasena quotes from the works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati some verses which do not agree, as regards contents, with those of the Viṣṇudharmottara and the principles of dramaturgy, as laid down in the Viṣṇudharmottara, differ on some points from those of the Nāṭya-śāstra.

Of the various types of works known to it, the Viṣṇudharmottara gives us valuable information. It speaks of 'nṛtya-śāstra', 'gīta-śāstra', 'kalā-sāstra',[216] 'dhanurveda', 'hastyāyurveda', 'aśvāyurveda', 'vṛkṣāyurveda',[217] 'phala-veda',[218] 'sūda-śāstra'[219] etc. and mentions the four Vedas,[220] the Vedāṅgas,[221] 'the Bhārata (i.e. the Mahābhārata) composed by Dvaipāyana',[222] the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki,[223] the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas,[224] a Sūtra work (on hasti-cikitsā) written by Lomapāda, king of Aṅga,[225] and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas.[226] Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Sanskrit literature became enriched by various types of works even before the time of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

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[214] Viṣṇudh. I. 167. 15-18, and 207. 55-56.

[215] See Adbhutasāgara, pp. 98, 236, 410, 429, 471, 559-560.

[216] Viṣṇudh. III. 73. 49.

[217] Ibid., II. 91. 11; III. 297. 18.
'Vṛkṣāyurveda' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmata, verse 123.

[218] Viṣṇudh. III. 73. 47.

[219] Ibid., II. 24. 23. 'Sūda-śāstra' is also mentioned in Kuṭṭanīmata, verse 123.

[220] Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 29-30; II. 22. 129-130; and so on.

[221] Ibid., I. 74. 33; II. 22. 131-2.

A large number of chapters is found common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p., as the following list will show.

Viṣṇudh. Matsya-p.
I. 111-119 = Chaps. 195-203 respectively.
I. 145. 1-2, 4 = 204. 2-3, 5.
I. 146. 41b-59 = 207. 24b-41.
I. 148-152 = Chaps. 115-119 respectively.
I. 153; 154. 1-6a, 7 = Chap. 120.
I. 226 = 179. 2ff.
II. 24-28 = Chaps. 215-219 respectively.
II. 36 = 208. 3-21.
II. 37 = Chaps. 202-210.
II. 38 = 211. 1-13, 28.

Viṣṇudh. Matsya-p.
II. 39 = Chap. 212.
II. 40 = 213. 1-13, 17-18.
II. 41 = Chap. 214.
II. 66-70 = Chaps. 221-225 respectively.
II. 71. 1-3 = 226. 1-3.
II. 72. 17b-200 = Chap. 227.
II. 133-140 = Chaps. 228-235 respectively.
II. 142-144 = Chaps. 236-238 respectively.
II. 163 = Chap. 240.

That as regards these common chapters the Matsya-p. is the borrower, can be proved definitely by a number of evidences, some of which are given below.

(i) The contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 129-156 are follows:—Chaps. 129-137 deal with Purūravas's love for Urvaśī, chaps. 138-145 with śrāddha and the Pitṛs, chaps. 146 and 147 with vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga respectively, and chaps. 148-156 with Purūravas's penance in his previous birth for attaining extraordinary physical beauty. Of these, the last group of chapters (i.e. chaps. 148-156) begins thus:—

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[222] Ibid., I. 74. 23-28; III. 351. 49.

[223] Ibid., I. 74. 37-39 (vālmīkinā tu racitaṃ.../ rāmākhyānaṃ...//); I. 81. 26; III. 351. 48 (mayā vālmīkinā kāryaṃ kāvyaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ tathā).

[224] Ibid., I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4.

[225] Ibid., I. 253. 34-35.

[226] Ibid., II. 6. 2.

> vajra uvāca—
> caritaṃ budha-putrasya mārkaṇḍeya mayā śrutam/
> śrutaḥ śrāddha-vidhiḥ puṇyaḥ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanaḥ//
> dhenvāḥ prasūyamānāyāḥ phalaṃ dāne tathā śrutam/
> kṛṣṇājina-pradānaṃ ca vṛṣotsargas tathaiva ca//
> śrutvā rūpaṃ narendrasya budha-putrasya bhārgava/
> kautūhalaṃ samutpannaṃ tan mamācakṣva pṛcchataḥ//
> (chap. 148, verses 1-3).

In these verses there is clear reference to the contents of chaps. 129-137 (on the story of Purūravas, son of Budha), chaps. 138-145 (on śrāddha), chaps. 146-147 (on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga), and chap. 130 (verses 3ff., in which Purūravas is said to have possessed uncommon physical beauty). Though in the printed edition of the Viṣṇudharmottara there is no chapter or chapters on 'prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna' and 'kṛṣṇājina-dāna', this work was not originally bereft of chapters on these topics. In his Dānasāgara, pp. 531-532 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' twenty-one metrical lines which deal with kṛṣṇājina-dāna and all of which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 206. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 704-5 and 705-7 Hemādri also ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' two complete chapters on 'madhyama-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' and 'mahā-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' respectively.

The Matsya-p., on the other hand, contains only the story of Purūravas's penance in his previous birth in chaps. 115-120 (which are practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 148-153 and verses 1-7 of chap. 154) and deals with prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna, kṛṣṇājina-dāna and vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa as late as in chaps. 205, 206 and 207 respectively, but it does not contain any chapter on vṛṣotsarga. Yet the opening verses of chap. 115 are the same as those of Viṣṇudh. I. 148 quoted above. It is also to be noted that although in the Matsya-p. the story of Purūravas's love affairs does not immediately precede the story of his penance in his previous birth but occurs very briefly in chap. 24 and śrāddha is dealt with in chaps. 11-22, the opening verses of chap. 115 do not refer to the contents of the intervening chapters (25-114).

The Matsya-p. describes the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) fully in the entire chap. 207, but this topic is dealt with partially in in Viṣṇudh. I. 146. 41b-59 (which are the same as Mat. 207. 24b-41). Moreover, in the Viṣṇudharmottara this topic is begun abruptly with the line 'ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyaḥ satataṃ kula-vardhanaḥ' (which really forms the second half of the verse 'śvetaṃ tu jaṭharaṃ yasya bhavet pṛṣṭhaṃ ca gopateḥ/ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyaḥ satataṃ kula-vardhanaḥ//' as found in Mat. 207. 24). But this abrupt beginning and incomplete treatment of the above-mentioned topic in the Viṣṇudharmottara should not be taken to prove that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrowed its verses from the Matsya-p. As a matter of fact, the original Viṣṇudharmottara contained all those verses on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa which are now found in Matsya-p., chap. 207. In his Dānasāgara, p. 115 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' three verses on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa which do not occur in Viṣṇudh. I. 148 but are the same as Mat. 207. 13-15.

(ii) The story of Purūravas in Matsya-p., chaps. 115-120 ends abruptly, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it is continued through a few more chapters to its logical conclusion.

(iii) In Matsya-p., chap. 195 (which is practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 111), the second verse runs as follows:

mahādevena ṛṣayaḥ śaptāḥ svāyambhuve 'ntare/
teṣāṃ vaivasvate prāpte saṃbhavaṃ mama kīrtaya//

This verse, as occurring in the Matsya-p., has no preceding story or statement to refer to, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it occurs in chap. 111 of Khaṇḍa I and refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 110. 28.

(iv) A textual comparison betweeen the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p. shows that the latter work has adapted the above-mentioned chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara to its own interlocutors often by using unsuitable words. For instance, for Viṣṇudh. I. 148.8 (purūravā madrapatiḥ karmaṇā kena bhārgava/babhūva karmaṇā kena kurūpaś ca tathā dvija//), Mat. 115.9 reads 'purūravā madrapatiḥ... *pārthivaḥ*/babhūva......virūpaś caiva *sūtaja*//'; in Viṣṇudh. II. 24. 62 Puṣkara addresses Bhārgava Rāma as 'manuja-śārdūla' ('a tiger among the descendants of Manu, i.e. among men'), and this word ('manuja-śārdūla'), though not applicable to Manu himself, has been retained in Matsya-p., chap. 215 (verse 88) in which Matsya speaks to Manu; and so on.

(v) The story of Sāvitrī in Viṣṇudh. II. 36-41 naturally follows chaps. 33-35 (on the conduct and duties of chaste women, and the treatment they deserve from the king). But the Matsya-p., though containing this story in chaps. 208-214, has no chapters corresponding to chaps. 33-35 of the Viṣṇudharmottara. Moreover, in chaps. 208-214 the Matsya-p. has a large number of additional verses which are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Matsya-p. borrowed the above-mentioned chapters from the Viṣṇudharmottara.

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

This work is quite familiar with the Greek terms 'hibuka', 'kendra', 'lipta', 'sunaphā' etc.[227] and mentions 'horā',[228] 'dreṣkāṇa',[229] and the names of the rāśis[230] and week-days[231] in several places. By its mention of Mūlasthāna[232] as a place of Sun-worship as well as of the girdle called 'aviyāṅga',[233] worn by the Sun-worshippers, it betrays its knowledge of the Persian elements in the method of worshipping the Sun. It utilises, as we have already seen, the language and contents of the Upanṣads, Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, the astronomical works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati, the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Parāśara, and the Viṣṇudharma. By its description of 'Purāṇa' as consisting of four Pādas[234] it points definitely to the Vāyu-p.[235] which only claims to consist of, and is practically divided into, four Pādas, viz., Prakriyā, Upodghāta, Anuṣaṅga and Upasaṃhāra. In the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as given in chaps. 129-137 of Khaṇḍa I, it clearly betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya.[236] Viṣṇudh. I. 208 contains the description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagṛha to have a glance at Bharata when the latter was entering that city. This description bears the unmistakable stamp of the influence of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa.[237] Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara cannot be earlier than 400 A.D.

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[227] See Viṣṇudh. II. 167ff.

[228] Viṣṇudh. I. 83. 47ff.; II. 168ff.; III. 96. 97; and so on.

The occurrence of the term *horā* in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., but there is no evidence to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

[229] Viṣṇudh. II. 167ff.; III. 96. 97.

[230] Viṣṇudh. I. 72. 11, 73. 8ff., 84. 1ff., and 94. 6ff.; II. 18.11; II. 167ff.; III. 319. 38ff.; and so on.

The total absence of the term *rāśi* in all early works down to the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the rāśis earlier than the second century A.D.

[231] Viṣṇudh. I. 59. 2-5, and 60. 5; II. 47. 4, 50. 68, and 52. 84 and 124; III. 317. 16ff.; and so on.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

[232] Viṣṇudh. III. 121. 12.

[233] Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 3.

Again, the Viṣṇudharmottara has been profusely drawn upon by almost all the Smṛti-commentators and Nibandha-writers, viz., Bhavadeva, Vijñāneśvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati-miśra, Govindānanda, Śrīnāthācāryacūḍāmaṇi, Gadādhara, Raghunandana and others. Some of these Smṛti-writers have made their quotations under the title 'Viṣṇudharmottara'; some of them (such as Bhavadeva and Vijñāneśvara) have done so under the name of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara);[238] and the rest (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others) have ascribed some of the quoted verses to

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[234] Viṣṇudh. III. 17. 2b-3—

prakriyā prathamaḥ pādaḥ kathāvastu-parigrahaḥ/
upodghātānuṣaṅgau ca tathā saṃhāra eva ca/
catuṣpādaṃ hi kathitaṃ purāṇaṃ bhṛgu-nandana//

The first two lines are the same as Vāyu-p. 4. 13. (The Vāyu-p. reads the second line as 'upodghāto'nuṣaṅgaś ca upasaṃhāra eva ca').

[235] The Vāyu-p. and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. were originally the same.

[236] The similarity in ideas and expressions between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Vikramorvaśīya will be evident from the following parallel passages.

(a) Viṣṇudh. I. 133. 52.—Before leaving Urvaśī with Purūravas, Rambhā says to the latter:

... ...
yathā ceyaṃ sakhī mahyaṃ notkaṇṭhāṃ kurute śubhā/
sakhī-janasya svargyasya tathā kāryaṃ tvayānagha//

Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act III—citralekhā— ....tā jahā iaṃ me piasahī saggassa ṇa ukkaṇṭhedi taha vaasseṇa kādavvaṃ.

(b) Viṣṇudh. I. 135. 26-33 (in which Purūravas vainly enquires for Urvaśī to beasts, birds and plants).—Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act IV.

[237] Compare, for instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 208. 10-21a with Raghuvaṃśa VII. 5-12.

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[238] The verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being often used in the masculine gender), quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas, are, except in a very few cases, not found in the present Mārkaṇḍeya-p.

The facts that many of the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are found in the Viṣṇudharmottara wherein the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is the speaker, that the same verses are sometimes ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, pp. 538 and 539, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. pp. 379-380, and Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 103; Tithi-viveka, pp. 6-7; and so on) and to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' in others (viz., in Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 289, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 429, Smṛti-candrikā, II, p. 620; Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 49, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. pp. 93 and 116; and so on), and that in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, p. 265, Hāralatā pp. 19 and 29, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp. 85-86 and 332, and so on) verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara are quoted with the words 'Viṣṇudharmottare mārkaṇḍeyaḥ', show that 'Mārkaṇḍeya'. to whom these verses are ascribed in the Nibandhas, is, in the great majority of cases, identical with the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara. In those cases in which the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible. As to the few cases in which the verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., it may be said that due to a confusion created by the similarity between the name of the sage and the title of the Purāṇa, verses of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. were sometimes wrongly ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' or *vice versa*. For instance, the verses 'ekabhaktena naktena' and 'śukla-pakṣasya pūrvāhṇe', which are ascribed to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i. p. 100 and III. i. p. 320 respectively but are not found in the present Purāṇa of the same title, are ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being used in the musculine gender) in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi III. ii. pp. 176 and 575 respectively. See also Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 206, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 64, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 109 and II, pp. 88 and 95, and so on, wherein the former verse is ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya'

'Mārkaṇḍeya' and the rest to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. In his account of India Alberūnī refers to and draws upon the present Viṣṇudharmottara on many occasions, and most of these references and quotations have been traced by Bühler in the extant text of this work.[239] The present Kālikā-p., which was written somewhere about Kāmarūpa not later than the first half of the eleventh century A. D., knows and mentions the present Viṣṇudharmottara in its encyclopâedic character.[240] So also

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[239] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 381-410.

Alberūnī's references to, and quotations from, the 'Viṣṇudharma' have been traced in the present Viṣṇudharmottara thus:—

Sachau, Alberūnī's India,	Viṣṇudharmottara
I, p. 54	— cf. I.81.28-29.
p. 216	= I. 106.29-30.
p. 218	— cf. I. 120.2-3.
pp. 241-242	= I. 106.1-11.
p. 242	= I. 106.10-11
p. 287	= I. 106.21-28.
p. 288	= I. 106.21-28.
p. 291	= I. 106.31-32.
p. 321	= I. 81.1-2.
pp. 328-9	= I. 73.14-16.
p. 331	= I. 73.13.
p. 332	= I. 73.39.
pp. 344-5	= I. 83.3-21, and 50.62.
p. 353	= I. 72.17b.
p. 354	= I. 72.18b-19a.
p. 358	= I. 83.3-9.
p. 360	= I. 73.37ff.
I, p. 372	= I. 73.17-18 and 34-40.
p. 379	= I. 73.21ff.
p. 380	= I. 73.24.
pp. 381ff.	= I. 73.28ff.
p. 386	= I. 81.2-3.
p. 387	= I. 81.4-5.
p. 398	= I. 82.1.
pp. 398-9	— cf. I, 73.20ff.
II, p. 2	= I. 80. 1-9.
p. 3	= I. 81.23-27; and I. 82.6-7.
p. 21	= I. 72.19b-23.
p. 64	= I. 106.12-13.
p. 65	— cf. I. 78.1-2.
p. 102	= I. 29.16b-17.
pp. 140-1	= I. 106.34-41.

[240] In Kālikā-p. 91. 70-71a Mārkaṇḍeya says:

'viṣṇudharmottare pūrvam mayā rahasi bhāṣitam/
rāja-nītiṃ sadācāraṃ veda-vedāṅga-saṃgatam//
rahasyaṃ satataṃ viṣṇor vikṣadhvaṃ dvija-sattamāḥ/'

See also Kālikā-p. 92. 1-2, in which the sages say to Mārkaṇḍeya:

saṃkṣepataḥ sadācāro viśeṣo rāja-nītiṣu/
śrutas tvad-vacanād aurvaḥ sagarāya yathoktavān//
viṣṇudharmottare tantre bāhulyaṃ sarvataḥ punaḥ/
draṣṭavyas tu sadācāro draṣṭavyās te prasādataḥ//

The questions of the date and provenance of the present Kālikā-p. will be discussed fully under 'Kālikā-p.' in Vol. II of the present work.

does the present Nāradīya-p. (I. 94), which refers to the contents of the Viṣṇudharmottara and takes it to be the second part of the Viṣṇu-p. According to Śūlapāṇi, Bālaka and Śrīkara knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and utilised its contents in their respective works.[241] The spurious Agni-p. (now available in print), which was written, most probably in western Bengal, during the ninth century A.D., has incorporated a large number of chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharmottara, as a comparison of Agni-p., chaps. 151-172, 218-237, 245 ff. and 259-272 with Viṣṇudh. II, chaps. 80 ff., 76ff., 21ff., 16ff., 15, 124ff., 105ff. and 159ff. will show. In most of these chapters the Agni-p. has retained Puṣkara as the speaker, but in a few Agni appears in his place ; sometimes the Agni-p. rewrites the verses briefly by retaining as much as possible the language of the Viṣṇudharmottara; and although, following the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Agni-p. retains the old order of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā of Bharaṇī in all other places, it replaces this order with the new one in verse 8 of chap. 219 in spite of the mention of the old order in the corresponding passage (viz., II. 22. 20-24) of the Viṣṇudharmottara. The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya,[242] names and draws upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as well as the Viṣṇudharma. From all these references, quotations and common passages it is evident that by the middle of eighth century A. D. the present Viṣṇudharmottara attained great popularity as a highly authoritative work in all parts of India. It has already been mentioned that the Matsya-p. has borrowed a large number of chapters from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have been written not later than 600 A. D. On p. 460 of his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana ascribes to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-dharma' a few verses which have Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra as the interlocutors and are the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 161. 1-8; and on p. 464 he quotes two more verses from a 'Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta,' but these two verses do not occur in the Viṣṇudharmottara. The titles of these two works as well as the nature of the quoted verses show that the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta, which must have preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries, were distinct works written on the basis of the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have preceded the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta by a few centuries, otherwise it could not be recognised as an authoritative work at the time of composition of these two works. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti Mādhavācārya ascribes to 'Kātyāyana' a verse which mentions the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' along with the name of Mārkaṇḍeya as the speaker and refers to the contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a.[243] We do not know definitely who this Kātyāyana was. He might have been identical either with the author of the Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa or with that of a Dharma-śāstra which is now lost. Whoever this Kātyāyana might have been, he could not be later than 600 A. D. It has already been said that the Viṣṇudharmottara has not utilised Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṃkāra and Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. These two works mention a much greater number of Alaṃkāras and a considerably smaller number of Prahelikās and thus indicate the comparatively early origin of the Viṣṇudharma.[244] Nay, there is ample evidence to prove definitely that both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and used it in their respective works.[245] In describing the method of building temples in chaps. 86-95 of Khaṇḍa III the Viṣṇudharmottara makes no mention of the three styles of architecture popularly known as Nāgara, Draviḍa and Vesara, of which the first two developed into distinction after the Gupta period. According to some commentators, Brahmagupta wrote his Sphuṭa-brahma-siddhānta in 628 A.D. on the basis of the 'Paitāmaha-siddhānta' as found in the Viṣṇudharmottara. This view of the commentators, which most probably owed its origin to some tradition as well as to the lines common to Brahmagupta's work and the Viṣṇudharmottara,[246] seems to be highly plausible because of the fact that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to or utilise the works of Varāhamihira or any other later author on astrology and astronomy. As a matter of fact, we have not been able to find any work, written later than 500 A.D., which has been utilised in the Viṣṇudharmottara. Viṣṇudh. I. 9 gives the names of the tribes living in the different parts of India but does not mention the Hūṇas. On the other hand, it speaks of the Śakas and the Yavanas as living in the south-western and western parts respectively. The Viṣṇudharmottara believes in 'thousands of manifestations' (prādurbhāva-sahasrāṇi) of Viṣṇu and gives shorter or longer lists of these (including Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛ-varāha, Vāmana, Narasiṃha, Bhārgava Rāma, Dattātreya, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Haṃsa, Aśva, Mayūra etc.) in numerous places; but it does not refer to any group of 'ten incarnations', nor does it mention the Buddha anywhere except in III. 351 (verse 54) which is most probably spurious. It should be mentioned here that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.[247] The Viṣṇudharmottara names the Nakṣatras on many occasions, and it does so invariably in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī,[248] which, as the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the latest books of the Mahābhārata,[249] and Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā indicate, held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

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[241] Durgotsava-viveka, p. 16—

> 'aṣṭamī navamī-viddhā navamī cāṣṭamī-yutā/
> ardha-nārīśvara-prāyā umā-māheśvarī tithiḥ//'

ity āśvinādhikārīya-*viṣṇudharmottara-vacana-mātra-darśinā* bālakenātra viṣaye pūrvadine navamī-kṛtyaṃ yugmād iti yad uktaṃ

> 'bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ'

ityādi-vacanena virodhāt taddheyam/ *viṣṇudharmottara-vacanaṃ tu sandhi-pūjā-viṣayam iti śrīkara-miśrāḥ*/

According to P. V. Kane, Bālaka 'flourished before 1100 A.D.' and Śrikara 'must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D.' and probably in the ninth century.—See Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, pp. 283-4 and 266-8.

[242] See Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, p. 114, and pp. 22, 30, 136. According to S. K. Belvalkar, the ascription of this commentary to Śaṃkarācārya 'is more or less debatable.'—See Belvalkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy, pp. 218-9.

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[243] Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii. p. 413—
apsu agnaukaraṇaṃ jala-samīpe śrāddha-karaṇe veditavyam/
tad āha kātyāyanaḥ—
'viṣṇudharmottare vāpsu mārkaṇḍeyena yaḥ smṛtaḥ/
sa yadāpāṃ samīpe syāc chrāddhaṃ jñeyo vidhis tadā//'
This verse refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a which runs as follows:
anāhitāgniś caupasade agny-abhāve tathāpsu vā/

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[244] A study of the history of Sanskrit Poetics shows that the number of Alaṃkāras was multiplied in later times, but the Prahelikās, which were once very widely popular, came to lose their importance as literary compositions and experienced a gradual decrease in their number.

[245] For a datailed treatment (in Bengali) of the influence of the Viṣṇudharmottara on Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin see Our Heritage, II, 1954, pp. 375-404, and III, 1955.

[246] For instance, the line 'sarvarkṣa-parivartaiś ca nākṣatra iti cocyate' is ascribed to the Brahma-siddhānta in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 741 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, p. 63, Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 224, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp.740-1, and so on.

From all the evidences adduced above it is clear that the *Viṣṇudharmottara cannot be dated earlier than 400 A. D. and later than 500 A.D.* Bühler also is of opinion that 'the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A.D.'[250] This early date of the Viṣṇudharmottara is fully supported by its non-Tantric character as well as by the frequent use of the word 'prādurbhāva' instead of 'avatāra' which occurs only in two places (viz., in I. 172. 56 and III. 353.8).

Although the numerous cross-references in the Viṣṇudharmottara[251] indicate that the above-mentioned general date may be taken to be that of the great majority of its chapters, there are certainly some extracts and even complete chapters which are spurious. For instance, *Viṣṇudh. I. 105.5-20* (in which Pulastya speaks to a Brahmin named Dālbhya on Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā) *and I. 146. 1-41a* (in which Pulastya's speech to Dālbhya on the ways of release from rebirths—saṃsāra-mukti-hetu—is followed by an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira) *must have been added at a comparatively late date.* These verses begin abruptly with the words 'dālbhya uvāca', although nothing is said in any of the preceding verses about Dālbhya and Pulastya; and their subject-matter is quite unconnected with those of verses 1-4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b ff. of chap. 146. As a matter of fact, they create a serious breach in the topics of the chapters and verses preceding and following them. The spurious character of these verses is further shown definitely by the facts that they occur neither in the Matsya-p. (although it contains verses 1-2 and 4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b-59 of chap. 146 of Viṣṇudh. I) nor in the Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara noticed by H.P. Shastri[252] and that their subject-matter is not mentioned in Viṣṇudh. I. 148. 1-3 which refer to the topics dealt with in the preceding chapters (129-147). As the Viṣṇudharma contains a good number of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and also others and having the same interlocutors as those of the verses mentioned above,[253] it is undoubted that somebody took most of these verses from the Viṣṇudharma, adapted them to the interlocution between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya, and then inserted them into the Viṣṇudharmottara after the Matsya-p. had plagiarised chapters and verses from it.

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[247] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.

[248] Viṣṇudh. I. 59. 6-15; 82. 22-33; 83. 13-21; 91. 11-23; 95. 54-99; 99. 11-24; 101. 5-14; 102. 11-23; 142. 37 (kṛttikādi-bharaṇyantaṃ); II. 22. 20-24; III. 317. 20-27; 318. 1-32; and so on.

[249] Mbh XIII, chaps. 64, 89 and 110.

[250] Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 408.

According to M. Winternitz, the Viṣṇudharmottara was 'compiled between 628 and 1000 A.D.' (see Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p.580). Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that this work 'cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D.' and later than Śaṅkarācārya. (See Journal of the Department of Letters, XI, p. 3).

[251] For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 111. 1 refers to I. 110. 28; I. 129. 1 refers to I. 128. 32; I. 148. 1-3 refer to the contents of I. 129-147; I. 148. 3a refers to I. 130. 3ff.; I. 165. 1 refers to I. 163. 8; I. 173. 1 refers to I. 170. 13; I. 197. 1-3 refer to I, chaps. 128ff., chap. 110 and chaps. 117-121; II. 1. 1-2 refer to I. 201-269; II. 1. 6 refers to I. 70; II. 1. 7 refers to I. 72-73; II. 99. 1 refers to II. 95-97; II. 99. 2 refers to II. 53; III. 60. 2 refers to III. 47; III. 63. 2 refers to III. 46; III. 67. 1 refers to III. 56 and 52; III. 70. 1 refers to III. 50 and 51; III. 71. 2 refers to III, chaps. 56, 52, 47 and 50; III. 73.18 refers to III. 77; III. 73. 24 refers to III. 82; III. 83.5 refers to III. 25; III. 83.8 refers to

Similarly, Viṣṇudh. III. 215-220 (on Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata, Sugati-paurṇamāsī-kalpa, Santānāṣṭamī-vrata, Asi-dhārā-vrata, Ananta-dvādaśī-

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III. 26ff.; III. 85. 57 refers to III. 76; III. 101 and III. 116. 1 refer to the 'Śaṃkara-gītā' in Khaṇḍa I; and so on.

[252] Shastri, Notices, II, pp. 164-172, No. 190.

In this Ms, chap. 145 deals with 'śrāddha-deśānukīrtana', chap. 146 with 'vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa', and chap. 147 with 'vṛṣotsarga-vidhi'. These chapters correspond respectively to chaps. 144, 146 (verses 41b to the end) and 147 of the printed ed. of the Viṣṇudharmottara and do not deal with Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā etc.

[253] For the chapters of the Viṣṇudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya and for their contents, see above under 'Viṣṇudharma'.

vrata and Brahma-dvādaśī-vrata) must be later additions. These six chapters have Pulastya and Dālbhya as the interlocutors and form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptaḥ pulastya-dālbhya-saṃvādaḥ'. They do not occur in the Matsya-p., and of them the first three and the fifth agree with Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 4, 5, 7 and 8 respectively, in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya. There is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara derived these chapters from the Viṣṇudharma.

As regards the provenance of the Viṣṇudharmottara it can be said that *this work must have been compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab.* The evidences supporting this view are as follows.

(i) The law of inheritance (with regard to the right of the father and the son to the property inherited from the grandfather), as given in the Viṣṇudharmottara,[254] is the same as that of the Mitākṣarā school.

(ii) The incidents of most of the stories given in the Viṣṇudharmottara have been located in the western part of Northern India, especially in or about the land of the five rivers.[255]

(iii) Camels have been mentioned in connection with donation etc.[256]

(iv) Viṣṇudh. III. 314 mentions different kinds of rice, of which Rakta-śāli (which is a variety of Śāli rice) is said to be the best.

(v) In giving an account of the distribution of tribes in India, the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 9) divides this country into several parts, viz., central, eastern, south-eastarn, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern. The localities, comprised in these parts, show that the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara must have lived somewhere about the land of the 'five rivers'.

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[254] III. 330. 19-20a—

> paitāmahe tv asvatantraḥ pitā bhavati dharmataḥ/
> pitāmahārjite vitte pituḥ putrasya cobhayoḥ//
> svāmyaṃ tu sadṛśaṃ jñeyaṃ putraś ced guṇavān bhavet/

[255] Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 20, 148, 162, 164, 167-170, and so on.

[256] Viṣṇudh. III. 301. 32, and 312. 5.

(vi) The rivers Sarayū, Yamunā, Ikṣumatī, Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī, Devikā, Sindhu, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Vipāśā and Śatadru, especially the last seven, have been mentioned and praised as divine on many occasions.[257] For instance, the Devikā[258] and the Vitastā[259] have been identified with 'Umā, wife of Śaṃkara', and the Irāvatī, Śatadru and Sarasvatī have been called 'devī'.[260] As a matter of fact, the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara seems to have created occasions for praising these rivers whenever possible.

(vii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 61-65 the meeting places of the following rivers have been described as highly sacred:—(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Śoṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devahradā, (h) Vipāśā and Śatadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvatī, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.

(viii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 33-35 the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Tauṣī (a small river in Kashmir) is praised as follows:—

> sā kadācin mayā sārdhaṃ tauṣiṃ nāma nadīṃ yayau/
> tasyāś ca saṃgamaḥ puṇyo yatrāsīc candrabhāgayā//
> candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sītāmalodakā/
> mahādeva-jaṭā-jūṭe gaṅgā nipatitā purā//
> candreṇa bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smṛtā tataḥ/
> tat-kāla-tapta-salilā *tauṣī tatrārka-nandinī*//

(ix) The sacred lake Bindusaras has been mentioned more than once[261] and said to have been created by the drops of water of the Gaṅgā when she was falling on Śiva's head.[262]

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[257] Viṣṇudh. I. 11; I. 69. 11-13; I. 164. 23-26; I. 167; I. 170. 4ff.; I. 207. 40-65; I. 215. 44-52; II. 22. 158, 163 and 168-171; III. 125. 14ff.

[258] Viṣṇudh. I. 11, 10-11; 167. 15-16; and 207. 55-56.

[259] Viṣṇudh. I. 164. 23-24.

[260] Viṣṇudh. I. 11. 15, 16 and 18.

[261] Viṣṇudh. I. 19. 19; I. 80. 18; II. 22. 159; and so on.

[262] Viṣṇudh. I. 19. 18-19—

> tasyāḥ patantyā ye kecid bindavaḥ kṣitim āgatāḥ/
> taiḥ kṛtaṃ pṛthivī-pāla tadā bindusaraḥ śubham//

(x) Viṣṇudh. I. 139 states that Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha, raised the earth after killing Hiraṇyākṣa, and stationed himself on the Varāha-parvata (in Kashmir), and that it was at this place that the custom of offering *śrāddha* to the deceased was first introduced by him in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

(xi) A study of the Viṣṇudharmortara shows that the author or authors of this work had an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kashmir as well as of the northern part of the Punjub. In Viṣṇudh. III. 125. 10 Kashmir has been mentioned as a seat of Viṣṇu.

From the evidences adduced above it is highly probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara was composed somewhere in Southern Kashmir. Bühler and Winternitz also take it to be a work of Kashmir.[263]

The Viṣṇudharmottara is avowedly a Vaiṣṇava work claiming to deal with the 'various duties of the Vaiṣṇavas'.[264] It belongs to the Pāñcarātras and is not 'a production of the Bhāgavata sect' as Bühler takes it to be.[265] It recommends the Pāñcarātra method of Viṣṇu-worship, adds great importance to the due observance of 'pañca-kāla',[266] holds the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras in high esteem,[267] and extols one who honours, or makes gifts to, those who are versed in these scriptures.[268] According to the Viṣṇudharmottara,[269] Nārāyaṇa is the highest deity and Supreme Brahma (paraṃ brahma). He is the original source of both matter and spirit. For the sake of creation he takes to guṇas and appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara. Viṣṇu, who carries on the work of protection with the help of Lakṣmī, exists in different parts of the universe by assuming different forms through māyā. In the world of mortals he resides with Lakṣmī in Śvetadvīpa which is said to be situated in the ocean of milk lying on the east of the mountain Meru. The Viṣṇudharmottara calls Nārāyaṇa 'caturātman' and believes in the doctrine of Vyūha as expounded in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[270] It states that by persistently worshipping Viṣṇu with absolute devotion (ekānta-bhāva) according to the Pāñcarātra method, one can pass to Śvetadvīpa after death, reside there for long in a divine form, and then attain final emancipation by entering Vāsudeva after passing successively through the Sun (āditya-maṇḍalam), Brahmā, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa. It lays special stress on image-worship[271] and recommends to the Viṣṇu-worshippers both the Vedic *mantras* (viz., sāvitrī etc.) and the sectarian ones ('oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' and 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' of eight and twelve syllables respectively) but says that women and Śūdras are allowed to use the latter *mantras* only.[272] As it regards Viṣṇu as 'sarva-devamaya' and 'sarva-rūpadhara,'[273] it recommends the vows and worship of other deities also and thereby tries to infuse the worshippers of these deities with Vaiṣṇava ideas. It looks upon Kṛṣṇa as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu and seems to add little importance to cowherd Kṛṣṇa (of Vṛndāvana), who is mentioned very briefly on two occasions only.[274] It adds special importance to the Pāśupatas, whose scriptures it mentions along with those of the Pāñcarātras in more places than one,[275] but it subordinates Śaṃkara to Nārāyaṇa. So, it seems that the Pāñcarātras had the Pāśupatas as their most powerful rivals.

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[263] Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 383. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 580.

[264] Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16 and 23—vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān; I. 1. 19—viṣṇu-dharmān sanātanān.

[265] Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 382.

[266] Viṣṇudh. I. 6. 40; I. 61-65; and so on.

[267] Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

[268] Viṣṇudh. I. 58. 10 and III. 155. 6.

[269] For an idea of Vaiṣṇava theology, see especially Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 2,6,52, 58, 63 (verses 34-40), 139 (verses 19-22), and so on.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is practically free from Tantric influence. It advises the Vaiṣṇavas to worship Viṣṇu and other deities in images, pictures, altars, pitchers (full of water), or lotuses (drawn on the ground)[276] and recommends the use of Vedic or Purāṇic *mantras* or both in vows and worship. But it does not recognise the Tantric '*yantra*' as a medium of worship, nor does it prescribe the use of Tantric *mantras*. The Tantric bījas, found in some of the *stotras* and *kavacas* contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara,[277] are most probably due to the influence of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which the Viṣṇudharmottara follows in form and ideas.

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[270] For clear exposition of the doctrine of Vyūha, see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff.

[271] Viṣṇudh. I. 65. 32—

sākāre baddha-lakṣas tu śūnyaṃ śaknoti cintitum/
anyathā tu sukaṣṭaṃ syān nirālambasya cintanam//

See also Viṣṇudh. III. 108. 26-27.

[272] Viṣṇudh. I. 155. 27-28; I. 157. 16-17; I. 163. 8-11; and so on.

[273] Viṣṇudh. III. 126. 3.

[274] Viṣṇudh. III. 85. 71ff., and 106. 117-125.

[275] Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133-4; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

Although the Viṣṇudharmottara decries the Pāṣaṇḍas as extremely unholy and detestable, it seems to have been influenced by Buddhism. It recommends the worship of Aiḍūka, Dharma and Vyoman and describes their images.[278] By its recognition of Mayūra,[279] Haṃsa[280] etc. as manifestations of Viṣṇu and by its statement that whenever there is decline of *dharma*, Vāsudeva is born, according to necessity, among gods, men, Gandharvas, serpents, birds, or others and behaves like those creatures among whom he is born,[281] the Viṣṇudharmottara reminds us of the Jātaka stories.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is written mostly in verse, but some of its chapters, or parts thereof, are written in prose.[282] Regarding the language of this work it may be said that like many other Purāṇas it contains a number of ungrammatical forms. For instance, it has 'vartatā' for 'vartamānena' (I. 1.14), 'yatrastham' for 'yatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 4.38), 'tatrastham' for 'tatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 6.58 and 61), 'sandhyāsaha' for 'sandhyayā saha' (I. 26.8), 'prathame' for 'prathamam' (I. 139.1), 'duhitām' for 'duhitaram' (I. 252.8), 'patnayaḥ' for 'patnyaḥ' (III. 67.15a and III. 103.21), and so on.

[276] For the different mediums of worship see Viṣṇudh. II. 90. 9, II. 153. 6, II. 158. 3, and so on. For 'padma', see Viṣṇudh. II. 44. 17ff., II. 47. 26ff., II. 50. 20ff. and 77ff., and II. 54. 4.

[277] See Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 137, 196, 238, and so on.

[278] See Viṣṇudh. III, chaps. 84, 77 and 75.

[279] Viṣṇudh. I. 188. 7 and 9.

[280] Viṣṇudh. I. 180. 8; I. 190. 19; III. 118. 7; III. 119. 9; and so on.

[281] Viṣṇudh. I. 38. 10-13a and I. 172. 8-10.

[282] See Viṣṇudh. I. 237 (partly); II. 166-174 (Paitāmaha-siddhānta); III, chaps. 6, 18-19, 32, 36, 95 (partly), 97-101, 109-117, 344 (partly), 346 (partly), 350 (partly), 352 (partly), and 355 (partly).

3. THE NARASIṂHA-PURĀṆA

The present Narasiṃha-purāṇa,[283] which is also called Nṛsiṃha- (or Nārasiṃha-) purāṇa, is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It begins with a salutation to Narasiṃha and states that once, in the month of Māgha, some Veda-knowing sages came with their disciples to Prayāga from different parts of India (viz., Himālaya, Naimiṣāraṇya, Arbudāraṇya, Puṣkarāraṇya, Mahendra mountain, Vindhya mountain, Dharmāraṇya, Daṇḍakāraṇya, Śrīśaila, Kurukṣetra, Kaumāra-parvata, Pampā etc), had their bath in the holy Ganges, and saw Bharadvāja in his hermitage. When,

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[283] Edited by Uddhavācārya and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay. Second edition, Bombay 1911.

This is a very careless edition based on three Mss which have been referred to simply as क, ख and ग, but of which no information or description has been given by the editor.

In this edition, the chapter immediately following chap. 10 is called eleventh at the beginning but twelfth at the end. As a matter of fact, chaps. 11 and 12 have been combined without any demarcation, though Ms ग says that chap. 12 begins from verse 54.

Though I am fully conscious of the fact that no serious chronological deduction should be based on this worthless edition, the absence of any better, or even a second, edition of this Purāṇa has compelled me to utilise it here. I have, however, consulted a number of Mss of this work and have not used any evidence which is not supported at least by most of these Mss.

For Mss of this Purāṇa see

(1) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 1-5, No. 1020.

[This Ms, which consists of 63 chapters and was found at Navadvīpa, is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1567. It begins as follows:—

om namo nṛsiṃhāya/
tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra-jvalat-pāvaka-locana/
vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya-siṃha namo'stu te//
nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-paripatad-asṛg-aruṇikṛta-gātraḥ/
himakara-girir iva gairika-gātro naraharir aharahar avatu sa hy asmān//
himavad-vāsinaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ/
trikālajñā mahātmāno naimiṣāraṇya-vāsinaḥ//
&c &c

It ends thus:—

netrair mārtaṇḍa-caṇḍais tribhir anala-śikhā nyagvahadbhiḥ pradīptaḥ/
pāyād vo ṅārāsiṃhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-daityaś ciradyaḥ/
kiṃ kiṃ siṃhas tataḥ kiṃ nara-sadṛśa-vapur deva citraṃ gṛhītā
naivaṃ dhik konvajīved drutam upanayatāṃ so'pi satyaṃ hariśaḥ/
cāpaṃ cāpaṃ nakhāṅgaṃ jhaṭiti daha daha karkaśatvaṃ nakhānām
ity evaṃ daitya-nāthaṃ nija-nakha-kuliśair jaghnivān yaḥ saroṣāt//

iti śrinarasiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpiṇa idam ekaṃ suniṣpannaṃ dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā narānyadevāt param asti kiṃcit/ śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇaṃ samāptam//63//

The list of its contents, as given by Mitra, shows that it lacks the story of Dhruva as occurring in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed edition; the story of Prahlāda as given in chaps. 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43 and 44 (verses 1-13) of the printed edition; the description of the characteristic evils of the Kali age as given in chap. 54, verses 8-61 of the printed edition; as well as chaps. 64 (on the interlocution of Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa) and 68 (on the glorification of the Narasiṃha-p.) of the printed edition.

It also seems to lack the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras on the bank of the Revā for carrying away Draupadī by force (as given in chap. 33, verses 15-85 and chap. 34, verse 1 of the printed ed.); and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.).

It inserts a chapter on the praise of holy places (tīrtha-praśaṃsā) in Ayodhyā immediately after the chapters on Rāma-prādurbhāva.]

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 82-83, Nos. 138-139.

[(i) No. 138, which consists of 62 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī script, begins as follows:—

nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya etc.
tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta jvalat-pāvaka-locana/
vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya siṃha namo'stu te//
pātu vo narasiṃhasya nakha-lāṅgala-koṭayaḥ/
hiraṇya-kaśipo vrakṣa asṛkkaddamamāruṇāḥ//
homabaddhāgninaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ/
trikālajñā mahātmāno naimiṣāraṇyavāsinaḥ//
&c &c.

but its end and final colophon are not given by Aufrecht.

Aufrecht's description of its contents shows that it not only lacks, like Mitra's Ms, the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda and the description of the characteristics of the Kali age, but also the topics on Yoga (as found in chap. 61 of the printed ed.), and the enumeration of tīrthas (as found in chaps. 65-67 of the printed ed.).

It also seems to lack the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman after mutual greetings, they were engaged in 'talks about Kṛṣṇa' (kṛṣṇāśritāḥ kathāḥ), there arrived a Sūta named Lomaharṣaṇa, who was a disciple of Vyāsa and was versed in the Purāṇas (purāṇajña). After Lomaharṣaṇa had been duly received by the sages, Bharadvāja thanked him for having narrated to them the Saṃhitā named Vāraha (i.e. the Varāha-purāṇa) during the great sacrifice instituted by Śaunaka and then wishing to hear from him the 'Paurāṇa-saṃhitā named Nārasiṃha' put to him the following questions for detailed treatment:

(1) Whence did this universe, with its moving and stationary objects, originate? Who preserves it? And where will it go after dissolution?

(2) What is the extent of the earth?

(3) What acts please Narasiṃha?

(4) How does creation begin, and how does it end?

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and Sthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas, and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*.

The story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in this Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed. (See also Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713, described below, which also gives in five chapters the contents of chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.).

It does not insert any chapter on the praise of holy places in Ayodhyā.

(ii) No. 139, which is written in Devanāgarī, is generally the same as the above Ms but contains chaps. 65-67 (on tīrthas) of the printed ed.]

(3) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1211-14, Nos. 3375-79.

[(i) Of these five Mss, the first (Cat. No. 3375), which was copied in Devanāgarī script in 1798 A. D., consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vidalita- (v.l. -vilikhita-)-ditic-tanayoraḥ-' (with slight variations in readings) and ends thus:—

nṛsiṃhāsya-mahādeva-pūjite bhakta-vatsale/
loka-nāthe prabhau tena trailokya-pūjito bhavet//
yo narasiṃha-vapur āsthitaḥ purā
hitāya lokasya diteḥ sutaṃ yudhi/
nakhaiḥ sutīkṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇaṃ
divaukasāṃ taṃ praṇamāmi keśavam//

iti śrīnṛsiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini nāma sattīrtha-varṇano nāmādhyāyaḥ//

It lacks chaps. 64 and 68 of the printed ed.

As Eggeling does not give the contents of the chapters, it is not known

(5) What are the four Yugas? How are these to be reckoned, and what are their characteristics?

(6) What will be the condition of people during the Kali age?

(7) How is Narasiṃha to be worshipped, and what places, mountains and rivers are sacred to him?

(8) How were the gods, Manus, Vidyādharas and others first created?

(9) Which kings were sacrificers, and who attained the highest success?

The Sūta consented to narrate the 'Nārasiṃha Purāṇa.' Consequently, he saluted his teacher Vyāsa, through whose favour he learnt

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definitely whether this Ms also lacks the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras, the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*, and the description of the evils of the Kali age. It is also not known whether it inserts a chapter on holy places in Ayodhyā.

(ii) The next two Mss (Cat. Nos. 3376-77), which also are written in Devanāgarī and of which the second one lacks the first Adhyāya, are practically the same as the preceding Ms. Their concluding verses are (with some variations in readings) the same as those of the Ms noticed by Mitra, and their colophon is as follows:—

iti śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekaṃ suniṣpannaṃ dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit//iti narasiṃha-purāṇaṃ samāptam//

(iii) The fourth Ms (Cat. No. 3378) is written in Devanāgarī by different hands. It was copied in about 1500-1600 A.D., its last five folios being supplied in 1789 A.D. It begins with the verse 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-'. In the modern portion of this Ms the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as occurring in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) are given.

(iv) The fifth Ms (Cat. No. 3379—on Rāma-prādurbhāva) is written in Devanāgarī and divided into six sections named after the six Kāṇḍas (ending with the Laṅkā-kāṇḍa) of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is practically the same as chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.]

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 29-30 (Ms No. 36) and pp. 184-5 (Ms No. 298). The second Ms has been numbered again as 304.

the 'Purāṇas,' and then began to deal with the five Purāṇa-topics (viz., primary creation, secondary creation, etc.) by way of answering all the

[(i) Ms No. 36 consists of 63 chapters and is written in Bengali characters. It is 'not old'. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilasita-diti-tanayoraḥ-' and ends thus:

prasanne deva·deveśe sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet/
pakṣiṇaḥ pāpa-baddhās te muktiṃ yānti parāṃ gatim//
nakhaiḥ sutīkṣṇair vvidadāra vairiṇam
divaukasāṃ taṃ praṇamāmi keśavam//
vyāsṛgbhūdbhinnabhāsvatpṛthulalitalaṭācchāditā kintvamārgaḥ/
pātālaṃ prāpta-pādaḥ prakharatara-nakha-śrotaso nārasiṃhaḥ//
kara-khara-nakharaiḥ bhinna-vṛtyāś ciraṃ vaḥ//
kiṃ kiṃ siddhas tat kinvaḥ sadṛśa-vapumeṭava citraṃ gṛhito
nevādhikaḥ so'pi jīvedratamapanayatāṃ sopi nityaṃ hariśaḥ/
cāpam ajasragaṇair daśarjaghnivān yaḥ sa roṣate//

iti śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇe triṣaṣṭitamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaṃ narasiṃha-purāṇam//
Like Mitra's Ms and like the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below, this Ms lacks, besides chaps. 41-43 and 68 of the printed ed., the following portions of the latter: Nar 15. 7b-16; 16. 1-4a; 31. 1-97; 32. 20b-21; 33. 1-4a and 15-85; 34. 1; 40. 60b-61a; 44. 1-13; and so on.

(ii) Ms No. 298 (or No. 304) is an old one written in Bengali script and consisting of 67 chapters. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and ends with the chapter dealing with the 68 holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavāṣṭaṣaṣṭi=chap. 65 of the printed ed.). It lacks chaps. 41-43 and 66-68 of the printed ed. and also many others like the immediately preceding Ms and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below.]

(5) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 711-13, Nos. 4076-81.

[(i) No. 4076.—It is written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1617. It consists of 64 chapters, of which the 63rd chapter is named 'Tīrtha-yātrā-praśaṃsā' (=chap. 66 of the printed ed.). The Catalogue gives us no information regarding the contents of the different chapters.

(ii) No. 4076A.—It is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1586. No information regarding the number of its chapters or their contents is given by Shastri.

(iii) Nos. 4077-81.—Of these five Mss the first is written in Kashmiri and dated Saṃvat 1898, the second is written in Nāgara of the 18th century, and the remaining three are written in Bengali script. Of these remaining three Mss, the first is dated Śaka 1623 and the third is dated Śaka 1639.

The numbers of chapters of these five Mss or their contents are not mentioned in the Catalogue.]

questions with the narration of various relevant stories. So, the present Narasiṃha-p. deals with the following topics: —

Glorification of Narasiṃha (also called Viṣṇu, Hari, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, etc.) by identifying him with Nārāyaṇa, the eternal Brahma.

(6) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., Vol. II, Part i, p. 916 (Nos. 6616-18).

[(i) No. 6616.—It is written in Grantha characters of about 1866-67 A.D. and consists of 61 chapters. Its beginning is very defective, and it ends with the verse 'yo nārasiṃhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon runs as follows:—iti śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇe ekaṣaṣṭitamo'dhyāyaḥ/śrīlakṣmanārasiṃhārpaṇam astu//hariḥ om/kara-kṛtam aparādhaṃ kṣantum arhanti santaḥ/.

(ii) No. 6617.—It is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali characters of about 1800 A. D. It begins with the same verses as those of Eggeling No. 3375.

(iii) No. 6618.—It deals only with geography and is not divided into chapters. It corresponds to chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-112) of the printed ed. and lacks the story of Dhruva as found in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed ed.]

(7) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A.

[(i) Ms No. 2713, which was collected from Vaidyavāṭī in the district of Hooghly, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 98 folios, of which fol. 1 is damaged and fol. 2 is mutilated at the left side. It contains 63 chapters and is dated Śaka 1567. It is fairly correct. Like Mitra's Ms, it begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-', and ends thus:

prasanne deva-deveśe sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet/
prakṣīṇa-pāpa-bandhās te muktiṃ yānti parāṃ punaḥ//
yo nārasiṃhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ purā
hitāya lokasya diteḥ sutam yudhi/
nakhaiḥ sutīkṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇaṃ
divaukasāṃ taṃ praṇamāmi keśavam//
vyājṛmbhad-bhinna-bhāsvat-pṛthu-lalita-saṭācchāditārkendu-mārgaḥ
pātāla-prāpta-pāda-prakhara-nakha-prota-śeṣāhi-bhogaḥ/
netrair mārtaṇḍa-caṇḍais tribhir anala-śikhām udvahadbhiḥ pradīptaḥ
pāyād vo nārasiṃhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-daityaś ciradyaḥ//
kiṃ kiṃ siṃhas tataḥ kiṃ nara-sadṛśa-vapur deva citraṃ gṛhīto
naivaṃ dhik ko nu jīvet drutam upanayatāṃ sopi satyaṃ harīśaḥ/
cāpaṃ cāpaṃ na khaḍgaṃ jhaṭiti daha daha karkaśatvaṃ nakhānām
ity evaṃ daitya-nāthaṃ nija-nakha-kuliśair jaghnivān yaḥ saroṣāt//

iti śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini paraṃbrahmasvarūpiṇi idam ekaṃ suniṣpannaṃ dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/ na vāsudevāt param

Description of the origin of the cosmic egg (aṇḍa) from Brahma (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Sāṃkhya system; Viṣṇu's presence as Brahmā in this egg for creation. Division of time into nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta, ahorātra (day and night), pakṣa (fortnight), māsa (month), *ayana*, varṣa (year), *yuga* and *kalpa*; and measurement of

asti kiṃcit śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇaṃ samāptam/ śrī-rāma-cakravartīnaḥ pustakam idam/ śrī-gopāla-śarmaṇaḥ svākṣaram idam// śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1567//. terikha 23 jyaiṣṭhaḥ//. aṣṭamyāṃ śukla-pakṣe tu guru-vāre samāptaś cāyaṃ granthaḥ//

The corresponding chapters in this Ms and the printed ed. are the following:

Ms	Printed ed.
Chaps. 1-29	=Chaps. 1-29 respectively.
Chap. 30	=Chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-113).
Chap. 31	=Chap. 32.
Chap. 32	=Chap. 33 (verses 1-14); chap. 34 (verses 2-55).
Chaps. 33-37	=Chaps. 35-39 respectively.
Chap. 38	=Chap. 40 (except verses 60b-61b) ; chap. 44 (verses 14-43).
Chaps. 39-44	=Chaps. 45-50 respectively.
Chap. 45	=Chaps. 51-52.
Chap. 46 (on holy place in Ayodhyā)	= x
Chap. 47	=Chap. 53
Chap. 48	=Chap. 54 (verses 1-6).

Ms	Printed ed.
Chap. 49	=Chap. 54, verse 7; chap. 55.
Chap. 50	=Chap. 56.
Chap. 51 (except about 25 additional verses on selection of flowers and leaves for Viṣṇu-worship)	=Chap. 57 (verses 1-7).
Chap. 52	=Chap. 57 (verses 8-30).
Chap. 53	=Chap. 58 (verses 1-16).
Chap. 54	=Chap. 58 (verses 17-38).
Chap. 55	=Chap. 58(verses 39-115).
Chaps. 56-59	=Chaps. 59-62 respectively.
Chap. 60	=Chap. 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122).
Chaps. 61-63	=Chaps. 65-67 respectively.

The above table shows that this Ms lacks the following sections of the printed ed.:—

chap. 31, verses 1-97 —	—on the story of Dhruva;
chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1	—on the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas;
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13	—on the story of Prahlāda;
chap. 54, verses 8-61	—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age;

these divisions with respect to men, Pitṛs, Manus, Brahmā etc. Brahmā's origin from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel; origin of Rudra from Brahmā's rage; Brahmā's creation of Dakṣa and his wife, from whom Svāyambhuva Manu was born. (—Chaps. 1-3). Origin of the ten

chap. 63, verses 10-119a —on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*;
chap. 64 — —dealing with the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa;
chap. 68 — —on the glorification of the Narasiṃha-p.

On the other hand, the printed edition lacks chap. 46 (on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 25 verses (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) of chap. 51 of the Ms.

This Ms deals with the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva in five chapters (viz., 41-45) as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed., chap. 45 of the former consisting of chaps. 51-52 of the latter.

The agreement between this Ms and that described by Mitra is very close, and as both these Mss were copied in Śaka 1567, they are either based on the same original or derived from the same archetype.

(ii) Ms No. 323, which was procured from Ulā in the district of Nadia, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 131 folios, of which fols. 37-40 (containing chaps. 19-27, and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed.) are missing and fol. 131 is wrongly numbered 139. It contains 64 chapters and is dated Śaka 1588.

It begins and ends with the same verses (though with occasional variations in readings) as the preceding Ms, and its final colophon (viz., iti śrī-narasiṃha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-mokṣa-pradāyini paraṃbrahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekaṃ suniṣpannaṃ dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit narasiṃha-purāṇaṃ samāptam/śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1588/haraye namaḥ govindāya namaḥ/) also agrees very closely with that of the latter. (It should be mentioned here that the colophon of its final chapter, which is almost the same as its final colophon, runs thus:—iti śrī-narasiṃha-purāṇe ādye ... na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit prathamo'dhyāyaḥ/).

This Ms lacks the same sections of the printed ed. as the preceding Ms. It also contains, like the preceding Ms, a chapter (viz., chap. 47 on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 50 lines (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) in chap. 52, which do not occur in the printed ed.

Thus, this Ms seems to have been derived from the same archetype as the sages Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras etc. from Brahmā's mind; Brahmā's creation of Śatarūpā, who was given in marriage to Manu; creation by the sages except Nārada who was given to nivṛtti-dharma; creation by Rudra; creation by Dakṣa; descendants of Dakṣa's daughters. (—Chaps. 4-5). Description of the saṃsāra-vṛkṣa (tree of rebirths) which causes delusion of the mind; praise of jñāna, Viṣṇu-worship and meditation on Viṣṇu-Brahma as the means of getting rid of all sufferings brought on by rebirths; method and praise of muttering the eight-syllabled

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preceding Ms. The difference in the number of chapters in these two Mss is due to the fact that the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in the preceding Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., chaps. 41-46) of the present one.

(iii) Ms No. 284A, which was procured from Nalāhāṭi in the district of Burdwan, consists of 121 folios and is written in Bengali script. It is dated Śaka 1742 and contains 53 chapters, of which chaps. 14-53 are not numbered.

It begins with the verses 'nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya', 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-', and ends thus:—

imaṃ stavaṃ yaḥ paṭhate sa mānavaḥ prāpnoti viṣṇor amitātmakaṃ hi tat// iti śrī-narasiṃha-purāṇe dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini paraṃ-brahma-svarūpiṇi vaiṣṇavāṣṭa-ṣaṣṭi-nāmādhyāyaḥ//

asya śrī-rājasiṃhasya prakṛtyāliṅgito hariḥ/
rādhā-mohana-rāyasya prīto bhavatu sarvadā//
yugma-śruty-aśva-candrāṅkita-śaka-mite bhāskare taiṣa-yāte
natvālekhīn murāreḥ kajanu-yuga-samaṃ pāda-yugmaṃ surārcyam/
śrī-rādhā-mohanākhya-kṣitipa-naraharer nārasiṃhaṃ purāṇaṃ
gotrād evānvavāya-prabhava-kṛta-mahāyatna-santāna āśu//

In this Ms, chap. 53 consists of chaps. 57 (verses 8-20) and 65 of the printed edition. In verses 1-16 of chap. 53 of this Ms (which correspond to verses 8-20 of chap. 57 of the printed ed.) king Sahasrānīka asks Mārkaṇḍeya to describe to him the duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma). Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya begins to report what Hārīta, being requested by some sages to speak on 'varṇāśrama-dharma', 'yoga-śāstra' and 'viṣṇu-tattva' (cf. bhagavan sarvva-dharmmajña sarvva-dharmma-pravarttaka/ varṇānām āśramāṇāñca dharmmān prabrūhi śāśvatān/samāsād yoga-śāstantu yaṃ dhyātvā mucyate naraḥ/viṣṇu-tattvaṃ muni-śreṣṭha tvaṃ hi naḥ paramo guruḥ/), said to them on these topics. But in these verses Hārīta is found only to introduce his subject by briefly narrating the origin of the four castes and the place fit for their residence and to say nothing on Varṇāśrama-dharma etc. On the other hand, in verses 17ff. of this chapter (which corresponds to chap. 65 of the printed ed.) Sūta, being requested by Bharadvāja, names the 68 places *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' for the purpose. (—Chaps. 16-18). Enumeration of Āditya's 108 names (including Śambhu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Kapila, Mṛtyu, Hari, Haṃsa, Pratardana, Taraṇi, Mahendra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni etc.) as mentioned by Viśvakarman (chap. 20). 'Short' genealogical lists of the kings of the Solar and the Lunar race, the former ending with Budha (v.l. 'Buddha' in some Mss), son of Śuddhodana, and the latter with Kṣemaka, son of Naravāhana and grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā (chaps. 22-23). Accounts of the past, present and future Manus and Manvantaras (chap. 24). History of the prominent kings of the Solar and the Lunar race (vaṃśānucarita), especially of those who worshipped Narasiṃha and performed sacrifices

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sacred to Viṣṇu. Hence it is sure that in the original Ms from which our present one was copied, verses 1-16 of chap. 53 were followed by chapters on Varṇāśrama-dharma, Yoga and Viṣṇu-tattva, i.e. by chaps. 57 (verses 21-30—on the duties of Brahmins), 58-60 (on the duties of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, as well as of the students, householders, forest-hermits and *yatis*), 61 (on Yoga), 62 (on the Vedic procedure of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122—on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship) of the printed ed. It is most probably due to the inadvertence of the scribe that these intervening chapters and verses have been omitted in our present Ms.

As, like the other two Mss, it lacks the following sections of the printed ed., viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97	—on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85	—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras,
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13	—on the story of Prahlāda,
chap. 54, verses 8-61	—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age,

we may assume that the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as given in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) were wanting in the original Ms from which our present one was copied.

(It should be mentioned here that the corresponding chapters of the Dacca University Mss on the one hand and the printed ed. on the other, differ not only in readings but also occasionally in the numbers of verses. For instance, after verse 31 of chap. 5 the Dacca University Mss have 24 metrical lines which are not found in the printed ed.).]

(chaps. 25-29). Geography of the earth (chap. 30). Glorification of performance of duties towards parents and husband (chap. 14). Glorification of Brahmins and of service rendered to them (chap. .28). Results of giving various articles (chap. 30). Method of worship of Gaṇeśa (chap. 26). Glorification of Narasiṃha-worship as well as of the different kinds of service rendered to Narasiṃha and his temple (viz., construction and sweeping of the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung; bathing the image with pure water, milk, curd, honey etc. or with *mantra*; offer of various articles; recitation of hymns of praise; presentation of flags marked with the figure of Garuḍa; songs, musical concerts, or theatrical performances etc. held for Narasiṃha's pleasure; removal of the flowers etc. with which Narasiṃha has been worshipped; and so on.—Chaps. 32-34). Sins arising out of crossing the flowers

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(8) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 207-8, No. 452.

[This Ms is written in Nāgara and consists of only 41 chapters (so far as their number, given by Mitra in connection with the description of their contents, shows). The corresponding chapters of this Ms and the printed ed. are the following:—

Ms	Printed ed.
Chaps. 1-29	=Chaps. 1-29 respectively.
Chap. 30	=Chaps. 30; 31 (verses 98-113).
Chap. 31	=Chap. 32.
Chap. 32	=Chaps. 33 (verses 1-14); 34 (verses 2-55).
Chap. 33	=Chap. 35.
Chaps. 34-41	=Chaps. 36-39; 40 (except verses 60b-61b); 44 (verses 14-43); 45-47.

So this Ms, which ends after dealing with only a few of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is necessarily incomplete. It lacks the stories of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and the Pāṇḍavas who killed the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras for carrying away Draupadi by force.]

(9) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7151-53, Nos. 10548-53.

[Of these Mss, the first (No. 10548) consists of 64 chapters and is written in Devanāgari. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāntarjvalat-' and ends with the verse 'yo nārasiṃhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon is as follows: iti śrīmannarasiṃha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpa-nirūpaṇe catuḥṣaṣṭitamo 'dhyāyaḥ. The contents of its different chapters are not given in the Catalogue.

No information regarding the beginnings, ends and contents of the other Mss is given by Sastri.]

etc. with which Viṣṇu has been worshipped (chap. 28). The methods of performing lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa for the good of the village or the town or the country in which these are performed (chaps. 34-35). Method of consecration of images of Viṣṇu (chap. 56). The Vedic and the popular (sarva-hita) method of Narasiṃha-(or Viṣṇu-) worship (chaps. 62-63).[284] Description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 54).[285] Duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma—chaps. 57-60).[286] Description and praise of *yoga* which is to

(10) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 72, No. 1432.
[It contains chaps. 1-60 and is complete.]

(11) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 202.
[One of the two Mss is complete and is written in modern Kāśmīri script, while the other deals with Lakṣmī-nṛsiṃha-sahasra-nāma.]

(12) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 337 and 338.

(13) Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar, pp. 224 and 248.

(14) Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg, p. 72.

(15) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 188.

(16) Haraprasad Shastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, p. 29.
[This Ms is written in Maithila script.].

(17) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 51, No. 1084.

(18) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, pp. 1612-14, Nos. 2345-47 (complete in 62 chapters).

[284] The mediums of worship are the following:—fire, heart (hṛdaya), sun, altar and image. (Nar. 62. 5-6. Some Mss read 'apsv agnau' for 'ato'gnau').

[285] Regarding the conduct of people of the Kali age this Purāṇa says that there will be an intermixture of castes, women will become unruly and licentious, Brahmavādins will drink wine, the members of the higher three castes will disregard the rules of *dharma*, serve the Śūdras, enjoy widows and Śūdra women, and take food from the Śūdras, people will decry Hari and will not care to remember his name, Śūdras will become pseudo-ascetics (pravrajyā-liṅginaḥ) and preach religious doctrines, these Śūdras as well as many flowers among the twice-born will turn Pāṣaṇḍas, Brahmins will be eager for receiving gifts, and the Bhikṣus will teach their students with a view to earning their livelihood.

[286] In enumerating the duties of the members of the four castes and orders of life this Purāṇa says that a Kṣatriya king should try to attain victory through fair means, that the Śūdras should serve the twice-born, follow agriculture for earning their livelihood, and hear the Purāṇas from Brahmins, that a twice-born

be practised by one who belongs to the fourth order of life (chap. 61). Enumeration and praise of rivers[287] and holy places[288] sacred to Viṣṇu (chaps. 65-66). Praise of certain qualities of the mind (chap. 67). Mention and praise of a few Vratas (viz., Eka-bhakta, Nakta, Sauranakta, Agastyārgha-dāna, etc. – chap. 67). Praise of the Narasiṃha-purāṇa (chap. 68).

In connection with these topics the following stories have been introduced in this Purāṇa:

The story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya from Mitra and Varuṇa when the latter saw Urvaśī in a lake called Pauṇḍarīka in a forest in Kurukṣetra (chap. 6); the story of Mārkaṇḍeya who, being destined to die at the age of twelve, worshipped Viṣṇu, according to Bhṛgu's advice, with the twelve-syllabled *mantra* (oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya) at Bhadravaṭa on the bank of the river Tuṅga-bhadrā, with the result that even Death had no influence on him, and when Death and his assistants went to Yama to report how, in their attempt to bring Mārkaṇḍeya to the abode of Yama, they had been beaten back by the Viṣṇu-dūtas, Yama reproached them for their conduct towards the Viṣṇu-dūtas, and praised Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa) as the chastiser even of himself (chaps. 7-12); the story of Yama, who, though repeatedly tempted by his passionate sister Yamī to incest, did not agree to her proposal and was thus able to attain divinity (chap. 13); the story of a Brahmacārin named Deva-śarman who turned a wandering mendicant after his father's death, began to live at Nandigrāma in Madhyadeśa after visiting numerous holy places, became proud of his occult power by being able to reduce to ashes, by an angry glance, a crow and a crane which were carrying

should not put on red or blue clothes, and that a teacher should not teach his students during the Mahānavamī, Bharaṇī-dvādaśī, Akṣaya-tṛtīyā and Māghī Saptamī.

[287] Viz., Vitastā, Kāverī, Payoṣṇī, Vipāśā, Śivanadī, Gomatī, Sarasvatī, Carmaṇvatī, Godāvarī, Tuṅgabhadrā etc.

[288] Viz., Kokāmukha, Pāṇḍya-sahya, Śālagrāma, Gandhamādana, Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala, Sāyaka, Puṣkara, Kaseraṭa, Mahāvana, Halāṅgara, Daśapura, Cakra-tīrtha, Devadāru-vana, Kumāra-tīrtha, Āḍhya, Śūkara, Māhiṣmatī, Gayā etc.

away his rag, chanced to meet Sāvitrī, the devoted, and consequently omniscient, wife of a pious and learned Brahmin named Kaśyapa, and was reproached by her for his pride as well as for his neglect of duties to his mother and forefathers (chap. 14); the story of a learned Brahmin, who, after his wife's death, visited numerous holy places, turned a *yati* at the advice of Narasiṃha (who warned him that one, who does not belong to any order of life, is not favoured by him), and attained salvation after death (chap. 15); the stories of the birth of the Aśvins and the Maruts, said to have been summarised from those told respectively by Vāyu and by Śakti-putra[289] (i. e. Parāśara) in the 'Vaiṣṇavākhya Purāṇa' (chaps. 19-21); the story of Ikṣvāku, who, considering renunciation to be the best way of Viṣṇu-worship, went to the hermitage of Gālava and others after eulogising and worshipping Gaṇeśa according to Vasiṣṭha's instructions, practised severe penance there, and muttered the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', with the result that Brahmā revealed himself before king Ikṣvāku, told him how, being directed by a voice from the air, he himself could experience Viṣṇu by worshipping this god as well as by performing his own duties, and gave instructions to Ikṣvāku, who accordingly returned to his capital, did his duties as a householder, worshipped the images of Ananta and Mādhava given to him by Brahmā, and attained the region of Viṣṇu (chaps. 25-26); the story of Śāntanu who, though worshipping Narasiṃha according to the method learnt from Nārada, once passed over Narasiṃha-nirmālya (i. e. the followers etc. with which Narasimha was worshipped) and was thus disabled from mounting his divine chariot but who regained his power by clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Indra's son who used to steal flowers from the garden of a florist named Ravi and was disabled from mounting his chariot in consequence of passing over

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[289] The printed ed. reads 'śakti-putreṇa' (see Nar. 19.5), but the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713 (fol. 27a) and 284A (fol. 34b) as well as a few others read 'śaktri-putreṇa'. In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 323, the folios (37-40), containing chaps. 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed., are lost. The readings ('śakta-putreṇa' and 'śalpa-putreṇa') given by the Sanskrit College (Calcutta) Mss are corrupt.

Viṣṇu-nirmālya, placed by the florist near the garden according to Narasiṃha's instructions, but who got rid of his disability and went to his heavenly residence after clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Dhruva's attainment of high position among the stars and planets through Narasiṃha's favour attained by means of Viṣṇu-worship as well as by muttering the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' (chap. 31); the story of the demons Sthūlaśiras and Bahuroman, who disguised themselves as ascetics on the bank of the Revā with a view to carrying away Draupadī, and of whom the former was killed by Bhīma, and the latter, when chased by Arjuna, took the form of a four-armed and yellow-robed being with a conch-shell, disc etc. in his hands and narrated to Arjuna how in his previous birth as a Brahmin of ill repute he swept the floor of a Viṣṇu-temple and lighted a lamp there for enjoying the wife of a Brahmin, how being beaten to death by the city-guards he attained heaven and remained there for a long time, how he was reborn as king Jayadhvaja of the Lunar race and rendered service to the Viṣṇu-temple, and how after death he enjoyed various pleasures in the regions of Indra and Rudra and was cursed by Nārada to become a demon on his way to the Brahma-loka (chap. 33); the stories of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma,[290] Balabhadra,[291] Kṛṣṇa,[292] and Kalki[293]) including the story of Prahlāda (chaps. 36-54); the story of Śukra's regaining his eye which was pierced by Vāmana (chap. 55); the story of Indra, who muttered the eight-syllabled *mantra* and got rid of his female form that was brought on him by the curse of the sage Tṛṇabindu for killing in his hermitage the demoness Dīrghajaṅghā who, under the guise of an extremely beautiful woman, acted as a spy to Kuvera whose wife Citrasenā was stolen by Indra (chap. 63); the story of a Brahmin named Puṇḍarīka, who became a wandering mendicant without entering the second stage of life, settled at Śāligrāma and became an attendant (pārṣada) of Nārāyaṇa by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* (oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya), and meditating on the deity according to the instructions of Nārada who introduced himself as a servant (dāsa) of Vāsudeva (chap. 64).

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[290] In connection with the Rāma-story it is said that being ordered by Sugrīva the monkeys searched for Sītā in different places, viz., Kāśmīra, the eastern countries, Kāmarūpa, Kośala, Sapta-koṅkaṇakas, etc. (Nar. 50. 20-21), and that Rāma, before his decisive fight with Rāvaṇa, muttered the Āditya-hṛdaya *mantra* which was imparted to him by Agastya (Nar. 52. 96-97).

[291] Balabhadra, who is said to be none but Narasiṃha's white energy (sitā śakti), is said to have killed Rukmiṇa, king of Kaliṅga, by uprooting his teeth.

[292] Kṛṣṇa, who is the dark energy (kṛṣṇā śakti) of Narasiṃha, is said to have killed Naraka and many other Daityas (such as Hayagrīva) of Prāgjyotiṣa.

[293] According to the Narasiṃha-p., Kalki would be born as the son of Viṣṇuyaśas in the great village (mahāgrāma) called Sāmbhala and exterminate the Mlecchas with a sword by mounting a horse.

From the contents of the present Narasiṃha-p. summarised above it is clear that this Purāṇa is meant exclusively for the glorification of Narasiṃha who is identified with Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) as one of the forms (mūrti) of the latter[294] and is thus called not only Nārāyaṇa but also Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Hari, Mādhava, Ananta, Kṛṣṇa,[295] Dāmodara etc. So, Narasiṃha, though a form of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is himself the principal god also. It is this supreme deity called Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Narasiṃha) who takes the forms of Brahmā and Rudra for the sake of creation and destruction respectively; and for the work of preservation he takes the forms of (the inferior) Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha etc.[296] In creation he takes to *māyā*.[297] Though in this Purāṇa Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is described as four-armed, yellow-robed, having a complexion like that of the cloud, and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a mace and a lotus in his hands, he is called *nirvikalpa*, *niṣprapañca*, *advaita*, *sarvātmaka*, *ātma-caitanya-rūpa*, *jyotiḥ-svarūpa*, *avyakta-svarūpa*, *ānanda-rūpa*, *cidātmaka* etc.[298] and is identified with Brahma of Vedānta and Puruṣa of Sāṃkhya.[299]

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[294] Nar. 1. 30 ; 1. 64-65.

[295] Nar. 1. 10; 7. 37.

[296] Nar. 1. 30; 2. 1; 1. 61-62 and 64-65; 39. 17b-18b.

[297] Nar. 3. 28—māyām adhiṣṭhāya sṛjaty anantaḥ.

[298] Nar. 17. 17-18, 24-25 and 27; 1. 61b-62a; 1. 31a; 53. 11; and so on.

[299] Nar. 1. 31a and 36-39; 3. 13; 17. 35a.

It has already been said that the present Narasiṃha-p. is one of the oldest of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It was translated into Telugu about 1300 A.D.[300] and is profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. For instance, Gadādhara quotes verses from chap. 58 in his Kālasāra; Nīlakṇṭha from chaps. 34 and 58 in his Ācāra-mayūkha; Gopālabhaṭṭa from chaps. 8, 9, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 66 in his Haribhaktivilāsa; Anantabhaṭṭa from chaps. 34 and 35 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I; Narasiṃha Vājapeyin from chaps. 7, 8, 28, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chap. 62 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva and from chaps. 8, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62, 63, 66 and 67 in his Smṛti-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62 and 67 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, from chap. 58 in his Śuddhi-kaumudī and Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chap. 30 in his Dāna-kaumudī; Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chap. 58 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava; Rudradhara Upādhyāya from chaps. 30 and 67 in his Varṣa-kṛtya; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from chaps. 8, 15, 32, 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-paddhati; Śūlapāṇi from chap. 58 in his Dīpa-kalikā; Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 65 in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi; Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chaps. 30, 32 and 58 in his Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī; Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura from chaps. 30, 34, 58 and 67 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, and from chaps. 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Gṛhastha-ratnākara; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 58 and 60 in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 28, 32, 34, 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Ācārādarśa (*alias* Kṛtyācāra), and from chap. 67 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Madanapāla from chaps. 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Madana-pārijāta; Hemādri from chaps. 26, 30, 58 and 67 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi; Halāyudha from chaps. 58 and 62 in his Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva; Vallālasena from chaps. 30, 34 and 58 in his Dānasāgara; Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Aparārka from chaps. 58, 60, 62 and 63 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; and Lakṣmīdhara from chaps. 17, 26, 30, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66 and 67 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-III, V, VI, VIII and XIV. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 84 and 284 Raghunandana quotes Nar. 66. 45 and Nar. 30. 29-30a not direct from the Narasiṃha-p. but from the 'Tīrtha-kāṇḍa-kalpataru' and 'Dāna-ratnākara' respectively. Though Vallālasena is very particular about the authenticity of the Purāṇas which he draws upon in his Dānasāgara,[301] he describes the present Narasiṃha-p. as a work dealing prominently with donations[302] and utilises it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character. These show that by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. the Narasiṃha-p. attained so much prominence that its authenticity as an ancient 'Purāṇa' was not at all questioned. Hence this Purāṇa must have been written not later than 850 A.D.

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[300] Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 249.

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[301] Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Vallālasena when, in his Dānasāgara, he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. Regarding the Ādi-purāṇa he says that though it was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the Dānasāgara, because its contents were already fully utilised in the Ācāra-sāgara; the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Nāradīya-purāṇa did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the Liṅga-purāṇa, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations (mahādāna) contained in the Matsya-purāṇa and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa was utilised upto the chapters dealing with the *saptamī* (-kalpa), while those on the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence; the Viṣṇu-rahasya and the Śiva-rahasya, which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the Bhaviṣyottara was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the Dānasāgara for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.

Next, Vallālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava consisting of 23000 ślokas, and Liṅga of 6000 ślokas; and in connexion with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīna-ketanas (followers of Mīnanātha?) and others, who are hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the Skanda-purāṇa existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Pauṇḍra, Revā and Avantī, Vallālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.—See Dānasāgara, pp. 6-7 (verses 55-68).

The mention of a 'Vārāhākhyā Saṃhitā' or 'Vārāha'[303] in the Narasiṃha-p. must not be taken to point to the extant Varāha-p. and thus be used as an evidence in favour of the late date of the present Narasiṃha. In Nar. I. 14-15 Bharadvāja says, "O Sūta, the Saṃhitā named Vārāha has already been heard from you by these (sages) and ourselves during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka; at present these sages and myself want to hear from you the Paurāṇa-saṃhitā named Nārasiṃha"[304], and in Nar. 31. 10b-11a Sūta says in connection with geography, "The region of Viṣṇu is situated at a distance double in comparison with that of the region of Brahmā; its glory has been described in the Vāraha by those who think over the (different) regions".[305] From these it is clear that the Narasiṃha-p. speaks of a

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[302] See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12bff.)—
... ... kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca//
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya-saṃjñaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca//etc.

[303] In Nar. 13. 111a the printed ed. reads 'varāhe', but most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' in the corresponding line. See foot-note 305 below.

[304] bharadvāja uvāca—
śaunakasya mahāsatre vārāhākhyā tu saṃhitā/
tvattaḥ śrutā purā sūta etair asmābhir eva ca//
sāṃpratam narasiṃhākhyāṃ tvattaḥ paurāṇa-saṃhitām/
śrotum icchāmy ahaṃ sūta śrotukāmā ime sthitāḥ// Nar. 1.14-15.

[305] brahma-lokād viṣṇu-loko dviguṇe ca vyavasthitaḥ/
varāhe tasya māhātmyaṃ kathitaṃ loka-cintakaiḥ//
Nar. 31. 110b-111a.

Most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' for 'varāhe'. (See, for instance, Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304).

Varāha-p. which was narrated by Sūta to the sages Bharadvāja and others during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka and which dealt, among other topics, with the praise of the region of Viṣṇu. But in the present Varāha-p. there is no mention of Śaunaka's great sacrifice as the occasion for the narration of the Purāṇa or of Bharadvāja as one of the interlocutors, nor does this Purāṇa deal with the praise of the Viṣṇuloka. So, the Varāha-p., mentioned in the Narasiṃha-p., must have been different from the extant Varāha, which was thus unknown to the present Narasiṃha-p. The original chapters of the extant Varāha-p. being written about 800 A.D., the date of the present Narasiṃha-p. must be placed earlier.

The verses common to the Narasiṃha-p. and the present Varāha in their chapters on primary and secondary creation[306] need not be taken to prove the indebtedness of one of these two Purāṇas to the other. These common verses must have been taken by these two Purāṇas from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now lost.

In chaps. 26, 33 (verses 1-14), 34, 35, 56, 62 and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119-122) the Narasiṃha-p. gives the method of Gaṇeśa-worship, the Vedic and popular methods of Viṣṇu-worship, the method of consecrating the images of Viṣṇu, and the procedure to be followed in the performance of *lakṣa-homa* and *koṭi-homa*. But neither in these chapters nor anywhere else in the whole Purāṇa there is the slightest trace of Tantric influence. This Purāṇa does not mention the Tantriks or the Tantras even for the sake of denouncement. So, it is evident that this Purāṇa was composed at a time when the Tantras did not begin to influence the people very seriously. Now, from an examination of the Mahāpurāṇas we have seen that Tantric influence began to be imbibed by the Purāṇic works from about 800 A.D.[307] Hence the Narasiṃha-p. must be dated not later than 700 A.D.

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Narasiṃha-p.	Varāha-p.
1. 17, 19-20a, 23a	=1.12-15a.
1. 32-33	=2. 3-4.
1. 35-36a	=2. 5-6.
3. 1-9a	=2. 13-20.
3. 10b	=2. 21a.
3. 11-28b	=2. 23-41a.
4. 1-6	=2. 42-47.
5. 5a, 6b-8a	=2. 49-50.

[307] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 260.

Though in chap. 36 of the Narasiṃha-p. Mārkaṇḍeya promises to narrate the stories on the following (eleven) incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma,[308] Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki, he gives, in chaps. 37-54, the stories on all these except the Buddha and adds at the end, "I have spoken on the ten incarnations of (Viṣṇu) the destroyer of (all) earthly sins. The devotee of Nṛsiṃha, who always listens to these, attains Viṣṇu'' (Nar. 54. 6). So, the only line 'kalau prāpte yathā buddho bhaven nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ' (Nar. 36. 9a), which mentions the Buddha incarnation, is undoubtedly spurious. This line does not occur in most of the Mss of the Narasiṃha-p. Thus the Narasiṃha-p. knows the group of the 'ten' incarnations of Viṣṇu but is quite ignorant of the Buddha incarnation. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu shows that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.[309] Hence the date of the Narasiṃha-p. is to be placed not later than about 500 A.D.

According to the Narasiṃha-p. Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's Śakti.[310] It is for this inferior position of Kṛṣṇa that Yama says in Nar. 9. 3, "I submit to the slayer of (the demon) Madhu; even Kṛṣṇa is not able to restrain me of his own accord''. Hence the Narasiṃha-p. is to be dated earlier than the present Bhāgavata, in which Kṛṣṇa is given a higher position and is even called the Bhagavat himself.[311] As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the sixth century A.D.,[312] the Narasiṃha-p. is to be placed not later than 500 A.D.

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[308] In the present ed. the verse (No. 7) on the Rāma incarnation is placed before the line (No. 9a) on Paraśurāma, but in most of the Mss this order has been reversed.

[309] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.

[310] See Nar. 53. 30b-31a (.........avatīrya mahītale/sita-kṛṣṇe ca macchaktī kaṃsādīn ghātayiṣyataḥ//), 33a (preṣayāmāsa te śaktī sita-kṛṣṇe svake nṛpa), and 66a (itthaṃ hi śaktī sita-kṛṣṇa-rūpe harer anantasya mahābalāḍhye).

[311] Cf. Bhāgavata-p. I. 3. 28a—ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam.

Thus we get the lower limit of the date of this Purāṇa.

Again, in Narasiṃha-p., chaps. 47-52, a summary of the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa is given in connection with the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu; Nar. 29. 3 mentions some of the notable incidents of the Mahābhārata, viz., Arjuna's receipt of the Pāśupata weapon from Śaṃkara and the assistance given by him to Agni in consuming the Khāṇḍava forest, the Pāṇḍavas' residence *incognito* with Draupadī in Virāṭa's capital, and so on; and in Nar. 29.6 Janamejaya is said to have 'heard the entire Mahābhārata from Vaiśaṃpāyana, a student of Vyāsa, in order to get rid of the sin arising out of killing a Brahmin (brahma-hatyā)'. Thus the Narasiṃha-p. knows both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In Nar. 19. 5-6 Sūta says to Bharadvāja, "O high-minded one, the origin of the Maruts has already been described elaborately by the son of Śakti (i.e. by Parāśara) in the Purāṇa named Vaiṣṇava, and the creation of the twin gods Aśvins has been narrated in minute details by Vāyu. I shall speak to you briefly on this creation. Listen to me."[313] Thus, the Narasiṃha-p. mentions two Purāṇas, of which the second is decidedly the present Vāyu-p., which contains the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chap. 84 and is declared by Vāyu,[314] but the information regarding the 'Vaiṣṇavākhya Purāṇa' in which Śakti's son (Parāśara) was the narrator of the story of the birth of the Maruts, does not tally fully with the present Viṣṇu-p. which, though narrated by Parāśara, does not contain this story. But this absence of the story of the birth of the Maruts in the present text of the Viṣṇu-p. must not be taken very seriously, because it can be explained away by saying that the particular Ms or recension of the present Viṣṇu-p. which was used by the Narasiṃha-p. contained the above-mentioned story, and also because there are verses common to the Narasiṃha and the Viṣṇu-p.[315] Hence the Narasiṃha-p. must be dated later than the present Vāyu-p. and Viṣṇu-p. That the Narasiṃha-p. was composed later than the Viṣṇu-p. is shown by another piece of evidence. In the Viṣṇu-p. two hairs of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, are said to have been incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma respectively.[316] Thus Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are incarnations of exceedingly small portions of Viṣṇu. But in the Narasiṃha-p. it is two Śaktis of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, which appear in the forms of Kṛṣṇa and (Bala-) Rāma respectively for the destruction of Kaṃsa and others.[317] So, the position of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as incarnations of Viṣṇu is better in the Narasiṃha-p.

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[312] As there are a few parallelisms in idea as well as language between the works of Śaṃkarācārya and the present Bhāgavata-p., some scholars are inclined to date the Bhāgavata after that great Vedāntist scholar. (See Bhāratiya Vidyā, II, pp. 129-139, and IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 138ff.). But these scholars overlook the facts that the present Bhāgavata, like the other Purāṇic works, has been revised and emended on more occasions than one, and that Śaṃkarācārya, Māgha and others' influence must be due to these revisions and emendations. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove the pre-Śaṃkara origin of the earlier portions of the present Bhāgavata. (See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 55-57).

[313] sūta uvāca—

marutāṃ vistareṇoktā vaiṣṇavākhye mahāmate/
purāṇe śakti-putreṇa purotpattiś ca vāyunā//
aśvinor devayoś caiva sṛṣṭir uktā suvistarāt/
saṃkṣepāt tava vakṣyāmi sṛṣṭim etāṃ śṛṇuṣva me// Nar. 19. 5-6.

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[314] This identity seems to be supported by the verses common to the Vāyu and the Narasiṃha-p., viz.,

Vayu-p. 6. 60-65—cf. Nar. 3. 23-28a,
" 9. 75ff. —cf. " 5. 3ff.

[315] For instance,

Narasiṃha-p. Viṣṇu-p.
3. 23-28a —cf. I. 5. 18-24.
5. 3ff. = I. 8. 1b-2; 7. 3ff.
25. 40b-41a = I. 6. 39.

[316] See Viṣṇu-p. V. 1. 59-60—

evaṃ saṃstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ/
ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita-kṛṣṇau mahāmune//
uvāca ca surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tale/
avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṃ kariṣyataḥ//

[317] Nar. 53. 30b-31a, 33-34a and 66. For the texts of these verses see foot-note 310 above.

than in the Viṣṇu. Now, the present Vāyu-p., with the exception of those of its chapters which were added later, being earlier than the present Viṣṇu-p., and the Viṣṇu-p. being to be dated about 300 A.D., the date of the Narasiṃha-p. should be palced not earlier than about 400 A.D. This upper limit of the date of the present Narasiṃha-p. is supported by its mention of week-days (viz., Arka-divasa and Guru-vāra) in chap. 67 (verses 8 and 10 respectively), because the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.[318]

Thus, the date of the present Narasiṃha-p. is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purāṇa was written in the latter half of this century.

The introductory verses of the Narasiṃha-p. do not throw any light on the date of this Purāṇa. As all the Mss do not agree in this respect, some of these introductory verses may be later additions. Moreover, the date of these verses is uncertain. The verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta' is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 196. 18b-19a; and the verse 'kiṃ kiṃ siṃhas tataḥ kiṃ,' being ascribed to Vyāsa in the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya (p. 13) and Śrīdharadāsa's Sadukti-karṇāmṛta (p. 53), seems to have been taken from the Narasiṃha-p.

That a Narasiṃha-p. was written at a fairly early date is shown not only by its mention in Alberūnī's work[319] as well as in *all* the lists of Upapurāṇas[320] except that contained in the Ekāmra-p.,[321] but also by the Matsya-p. (53. 59) which says that the Upapurāṇas, viz., Nārasiṃha, Nandī-purāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, were 'well-established in society' (loke.........saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ), thus testifying to a much earlier date of these Upapurāṇas. But it is very difficult to say whether our present Narasiṃha-p. is the same as that mentioned in these lists and in the Matsya-p. The commentators and Nibandha-writers are, however, quite sure of the identity of the two. Of these, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin even explains the shorter form of the present Narasiṃha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasiṃha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."[322]

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[318] Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89.

[319] In his account of India Alberūnī gives two lists of eighteen 'Purāṇas'; and of these two lists the first, which was dictated to him, consists of the following 'Purāṇas':—

Ādi-p., Matsya-p., Kūrma-p., Varāha-p., Narasiṃha-p., Vāmana-p., Vāyu-p., Nanda-p., Skanda-p., Āditya-p., Soma-p., Sāmba-p., Brahmāṇḍa-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Tārkṣya-p., Viṣṇu-p., Brahma-p., Bhaviṣya-p.—See Sachau, Alberūnī's India, Vol. I, p. 130.

[320] For these lists and the approximate date of *formation* of the group of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas', see Chap. I.

[321] In its list of 'Purāṇas' the Ekāmra-p. (chap. 1) mentions the 'Nārasiṃha' in place of the 'Nāradīya'.

The Vaṅga. ed. of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25.20) wrongly mentions the 'Nṛsiṃha' as a Mahāpurāṇa in place of the Mahābhāgavata.

The above date of the present Narasiṃha-p. must not be taken to be that of the entire Purāṇa as found in the printed edition, because in the printed edition there are chapters and verses which are decidedly later interpolations. In order to be able to find out these spurious portions a list of such chapters and verses as are not found in all the Mss of the Narasiṃha-p. is given below with the mention of those Mss in which they occur and also of those in which they are not found.

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss, in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
1. Chap. 31, verses 1-97. (On the story of Dhruva).	(1) Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).[323] (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Keith's Ms (Cat. No. 6618). (6) Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

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[322] Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18—prasiddha-nārasiṃhasya aṣṭādaśa-sāhasra-saṃkhyā yady api nopalabhyate kiṃcit kāla-kramāt luptam iti pratibhāti.

[323] It has already been said that the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 of the Narasiṃha-p. was originally numbered 298.

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss; in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
	(7) R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (8) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss (Cat. Nos. 6616-17).	
2. Chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1. (On the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (7) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
3. Chap. 34, verses 43-55a. (On lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa).	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	All other Mss.
4. Chap. 36, verse 9a. (On the Buddha incarnation).	(1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (Most probably also in the Mss of Mitra, Aufrecht, Eggeling and Keith; otherwise the number of incar-	Mss क, ख, and also ग (?) used in the printed ed.

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss, in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
	nations becomes 11 and not 10 as mentioned in Nar. 54. 6—daśāvatārāḥ kathitās tavaiva harer mayā etc.).	
5. Chap. 40, verses 60b - 61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13. (On the story of Prahlāda).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (7) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
6. Chap. 54, ver-8-61. (On the evils of the Kali age).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.
7. Chap. 61. (On *yoga*).	(1) Aufrecht's Mss. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss, in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
		(3) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (4) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (5) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.
8. Chap. 63, verses 10-119a. (On the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttter-ing the eight-syllabled *mantra*).	(1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713 and 323) (In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30, and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all). (4) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) the Ms noticed by Mitra, (2) Aufrecht's Mss, (3) Eggeling's Mss, and (4) Keith's Mss.	(1) Eggeling's Ms (Cat. No. 3378.-- In its comparatively modern portion). (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
9. Chap. 64. (On the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Eggeling's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.	(1) Aufrecht's Mss. (2) Eggeling's Ms (Cat.No.3378.— In its modern portion).

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss, in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
of Nārāyaṇa).	(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713 and 323). (In Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all). Also in Keith's Mss?	(3) Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.
10. Chap. 65. (On the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣṇavas).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss (4) Cal. Sans. Coll.. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (5) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (6) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (7) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in Keith's Mss.
11. Chap. 66. (On the praise of holy places).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304. (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss. (4) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36. (5) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	*Mss, in which they are not found.*	*Mss, in which they occur.*
		(6) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323. (7) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Also in Keith's Mss?
12. Chap. 67. (On the mental tīrthas, and the praise of the Narasiṃha-p.).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304. (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss. (4) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323. (6) Ms ग used in the printed ed.
13. Chap. 68. (On the praise of the Narasiṃha-p.).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Eggeling's Mss. (Cat. Nos. 3375-77). (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36, 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Also in Keith's Mss?	(1) Aufrecht's Mss. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

The above table shows that *the following chapters*, which are not contained in the older and better Mss, *are undoubtedly spurious*, viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97 —on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85 —on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras,

chap. 36, verse 9a	—on the Buddha incarnation,
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13	—on the story of Prahlāda,
chap. 54, verses 8-61	—on the evils of the Kali age,
chap. 63, verses 10-119a	—on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*,
chap. 64 — —	—on the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the praise of Nārāyaṇa,
chap. 68 — —	—on the praise of the Narasiṃha-p.;

whereas the following chapters, viz.,

chap. 34 (verses 43-55a)	—on *lakṣa-homa* and *koṭi-homa*,
chap. 61 — —	—on *yoga*,
chap. 65 — —	—on the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣṇavas,
chap. 66 — —	—on praise of holy places, and
chap. 67 — —	—on the mental tīrthas, and the praise of the Narasiṃha-p.,

though eliminated in some Mss, are genuine.

The spurious character of the chapters and verses of the former group is also shown by their position, by the nature of their insertion, as well as by other evidences. For instance, the story of Dhruva in chap. 31, verses 1-97 is inserted so abruptly that none can have the slightest doubt regarding the fact that verses 98-113 of chap. 31 are direct continuations of the verses in chap. 30. As a matter of fact, chap. 30 and verses 98-113 of chap. 31 of the printed ed. form one single chapter in a large number of Mss (such as those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic society, and Dacca University).[324] Similarly, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras in chap. 33 (verses 15-85) and chap. 34 (verse 1) separates verses 1-14 of chap. 33 and verses 2ff. of chap. 34 of the

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324 As we have not been able to consult the other Mss of the Narasiṃha-p., we refer only to those of these three institutions.

printed ed. which deal with the results of offering different articles to Viṣṇu and of rendering various kinds of service to this deity and which thus rightly form a single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss. Regarding the suprious character of verse 9a of chap. 36 much has already been said in connection with the determination of the date of this Purāṇa. As to the chapters and verses on the story of Prahlāda, they are placed between verses 1-60a of chap. 40 and verses 14ff. of chap. 44 of the printed edition which form one single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss as well as in the Ms ग used in the printed edition. In these Mss, those verses, which are separated, with modifications, by the chapters on the story of Prahlāda in the printed edition, read, with slight variations, as follows:

gacchadhvam adhunā devāḥ svasthānaṃ vigata-jvarāḥ/
aham adya gamiṣyāmi indrasyendratva-siddhaye//
hiraṇya-kaśipor nāśo bhavatām api vṛddhaye/
yuṣmākaṃ vijayāyaiva ajayāya sura-dviṣām//
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/
ity uktā viṣṇunā devā natvā viṣṇuṃ yayur nṛpa/
bhagavān api deveśo nārasiṃham athākarot//
bahu-yojana-vistīrṇaṃ bahu-yojanam āyatam/
atiraudraṃ mahākāyaṃ dānavānāṃ bhayaṃkaram//
mahānetraṃ mahāvaktraṃ mahādaṃṣṭraṃ mahānakham/
mahābāhuṃ mahāpādaṃ kālāgni-sadṛśopamam//
kṛtvetthaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramaḥ/
stūyamāno muni-gaṇair hiraṇya-kaśipoḥ puraḥ//
nṛsiṃhas tatra gatvā ca mahānādaṃ nanāda ca/
tan-nāda-śravaṇād daityā nārasiṃham aveṣṭayan//
tān hatvā sakalāṃs tatra sva-pauruṣa-parākramāt/
babhañja ca sabhāṃ divyāṃ hiraṇya-kaśipor nṛpa//
etc. etc.

How these verses have been changed in the printed edition in order to accommodate the chapters on the story of Prahlāda will be obvious from a comparison of these verses with Nar. 40. 60ff. and 44. 14ff. The word 'yayau' in the line 'kṛtvetthaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramaḥ', which has been retained in the printed edition, does not agree with what has been said to Viṣṇu in the story of Prahlāda. As regards the spuriousness of chap. 68 it can be said that the Narasiṃha-p. really ends with chap. 67, which deals not only with the mental tīrthas but also with the praise of the Purāṇa, and of which lines 24b-25a say, "Having heard (the Purāṇa topics) in company with the snātakas (i.e. the sages who took their holy bath in the Ganges), Bharadvāja remained there after showing proper respect to Sūta, but the (other) sages went away". Further, though in several places of the Narasiṃha-p. unswerving (acalā, avyabhicāriṇī) *bhakti* is mentioned and praised as the means of attaining the blissful state of existence,[325] it is only in some of those chapters which we have taken as spurious that there are mention and praise of *dāsya-bhakti*.[326] It is also noteworthy that none of these spurious chapters is referred to by any of the remaining chapters, although there are numerous cross references in the latter.[327]

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[325] See Nar. 7. 33; 9. 6; 10. 49 and 51; 11. 56 and 60; 32. 10; and so on.

[326] Cf. prahlādo 'thābravīd dhīmān deva janmāntareṣv api/
dāsas tavāhaṃ bhūyāsaṃ garutmān iva bhaktimān//
Nar. 43. 78b-79a;
dāso'haṃ vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgiṇaḥ/
ity ukto nāradenāsau bhakti-paryākulātmanā// Nar. 64. 46;
janmāntara-sahasreṣu yasya syād buddhir īdṛśī/
dāso'haṃ vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgiṇaḥ/
prayāti viṣṇu-sālokyaṃ puruṣo nātra saṃśayaḥ// Nar. 64. 94-95a.

Also cf. Nar. 64. 116-117.

In Nar. 33. 31 the demon Bahuroman says how in one of his previous births as a Brahmin named Raivata, he was killed by the city-guards in a Viṣṇu-temple and was taken to heaven in a car which was 'prabhu-dāsa-samanvita'.

[327] Nar. 6. 2 refers to Nar. 5. 2; Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47; Nar. 20. 1 refers to Nar. 19. 23; Nar. 24. 1 (prathamaṃ tāvat svāyaṃbhuvaṃ manvantaraṃ tat-svarūpaṃ kathitam) refers to Nar. 3. 8-9 and Nar. 5. 20ff.; Nar. 24. 17c (pūrvoktaś chāyāyām utpanno manuḥ......) refers to Nar. 19. 13 and 15; Nar. 29. 9b (tasya caritam upariṣṭād bhaviṣyati) refers to Nar. 32ff.; Nar. 32. 1 refers to Nar. 29. 9; Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8 refer to chaps. 36ff. on incarnations of Viṣṇu; Nar. 35.2 refers to Nar. 34. 47 (on *koṭi-homa*); Nar. 36.1 refers to Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8; Nar. 55. 1 refers to Nar. 45. 35-36; Nar. 62. 2 refers to Nar. 58. 92b-93a. The words 'kā vāvasthā kalau yuge' in Nar. 1. 20a refers to Nar. 54. 1-6 and not to the section on 'kali-yuga-lakṣaṇa' occurring in Nar. 54. 8-61.

The above table further shows that there were distinct stages in the process of addition and elimination of chapters and verses. For instance, Ms ग (used in the printed ed.) interpolates chaps. 36 (verse 9a), 54 (verses 8-61) and 64, but eliminates nothing; Dacca University Ms No. 284A interpolates nothing but eliminates chaps. 66 and 67; and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 interpolates chaps. 64 and 68 and eliminates chap. 61. Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 not only combines all the interpolations and eliminations of the Dacca University Ms (No. 284A) and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 but also eliminates one chapter more, viz., chap. 65. Mss क and ख (used in the printed ed.) go a step further not only by combining all the interpolations and eliminations of Ms ग and Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 but also by interpolating chaps. 31 (verses 1-97), 33 (verses 15-85), 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43, 44 (verses 1-13) and 63 (verses 10-119a).

Even among the chapters other than those which have been differentiated above as spurious, there are some which are *most probably comparatively late additions. Such chapters are especially Nar. 6* (on the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as sons of Mitra and Varuṇa) *and Nar. 7-18* (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the story of Yama and Yamī, etc. narrated by Vyāsa to Śuka). In Nar. 5. 48ff. the names of those thirteen daughters of Dakṣa who were given in marriage to Kaśyapa, are the following:—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ariṣṭā, Svarasā, Svasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tāmrā, Krodha-vaśā, Irā, Kadrū and Muni; but in Nar. 6. 4-8 the list of the names of the 'thirteen daughters' married to Kaśyapa omits Ariṣṭā and Tāmrā but adds Kālā, Muhūrtā, Siṃhikā and Saramā, thus increasing the number to fifteen. Even in the Mss preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Asiatic Society (Calcutta), and Dacca University the names of these 'thirteen daughters' are different from those given in chap. 5.[328] It is to be noted that in Nar. 5. 43 Muhūrtā is said to have been given in marriage to Dharma. This disagreement between chap. 5 (which deals with *pratisarga* and cannot, therefore, be spurious) and chap. 6 seems to indicate the spurious character of the latter. In order to introduce this chapter the interpolator adds verse 2 (mitrā-varuṇa-putratvaṃ vasiṣṭhasya kathaṃ bhavet, etc.) of chap. 5. It is, however, not improbable that only verses 6-8a (containing the names of the '13 daughters') are spurious, and not the entire chap. 6. As to the chaps. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.), their introductory verse is as follows:

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[328] These names, as given in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University Mss of the Narasiṃha-p., are as follows: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā (Kālī' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A), Muhūrtā, Siṃhikā, Muni, Vratā ('Tāmrā' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Krodhā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Surasā (Calcutta. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304—Svarasā; Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713—'Sarasā' after marginal correction), Khasā (according to Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 and Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Kadru (or Kadrū), Saramā,

> mārkaṇḍeyena muninā kathaṃ mṛtyuḥ parājitaḥ/
> etad ākhyāhi me sūta *tvayaitat sūcitaṃ purā*//

Though in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. there is no verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya or of the way of his subduing Death, the expression 'tvayaitat sūcitaṃ purā' refers to the following verses (which occurred among those 12 verses which have been lost after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed ed. but are found in chap. 5 of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, and Dacca University Mss):

> bhṛgoḥ khyātyāṃ samutpannā lakṣmīr viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ/
> tathā dhātā-vidhātārau khyātyāṃ jātau sutau bhṛgoḥ//
> āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane/
> dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau//
> prāṇaś caiva mṛkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ/
> yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//

Hence the absence of the verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. is no cause for taking chaps. 7-18 as spurious. These chapters are considered as interpolated, because Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47 ignoring the intervening chaps. 7-18 and because Mārkaṇḍeya, who is called the great-grandson of Bhṛgu in the lost verses mentioned above, is mentioned as Bhṛgu's grandson in chaps. 7-12.[329] Of these twelve intervening chapters (7-18), chaps. 7-12 (dealing with the story of Mārkaṇḍeya) differ from chaps. 13-18 in certain matters. In the former six chapters (7-12) the use of the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' is prescribed more than once; the name 'Kṛṣṇa' for Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) is given on many occasions; and the names 'Devakī-nandana,' 'Vāsudeva' etc. also are found. Once Yama says,

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[329] See Nar. 7. 10-12, 25, 27 etc.; 8. 3 and 10; 9. 13; 12. 65.

> "sugatim abhilaṣāmi vāsudevād
> aham api bhagavate sthitāntarātmā/
> madhu-vadha-vaśago 'smi na svatantraḥ
> prabhavati saṃyamane mamāpi kṛṣṇaḥ//"

Hence these chapters, though not recognising Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself, have a Bhāgavata tinge. On the other hand, chaps. 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' are praised, and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-yamī-saṃvāda) except in the line 'cittaṃ me nirmalaṃ bhadre viṣṇau rudre ca saṃsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives, unlike the other chapters, the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chaps. 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chaps. 7-12.

From what has been said above regarding the addition and elimination of chapters and verses in the present Narasiṃha-p., it is clear that this Purāṇa has been revised on more occasions than one. A comparison between the texts of the same extracts as quoted by different Smṛti-writers and occurring in the printed ed., also lends strong support in this direction.[330] The verses and even large extracts, quoted by Hemādri from the 'Narasiṃha-p.' on different kinds of Vratas[331] and donations but not found in the present Narasiṃha-p., show that the text of this Purāṇa as used by Hemādri was more extensive. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin explains the smaller bulk of the present Narasiṃha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasiṃha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."[332]

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[330] For instance, a comparison between Nar. 34. 6-12 and these very verses as quoted by Narasiṃha Vājapeyin in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, pp. 558-560, shows how single lines of the quoted passage have been expanded into verses in the printed ed. For example, the line 'toyena bhaktyā saṃsnāpya viṣṇu-loke mahīyate' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558)=the verse 'snāpya toyena payasā narasiṃhaṃ narādhipa/ sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//' (Nar. 34. 6); the line 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd viṣṇuṃ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnuyāt' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558)=the verse 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd yas tu nirmalaḥ priya-darśanaḥ/ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnoti pūjyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ//' (Nar. 34. 7); and so on. Again, a comparison between the texts of the verses quoted from the Narasiṃha-p. in Madana-pārijāta, pp. 301-2, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 411 and

The mention of Tulasī in chaps. 31 (verse 87) and 34 (verses 19 and 23) and in the additional verses contained in the Mss (preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Dacca University, etc.) in their chapters corresponding to chap. 57 of the printed ed., should not be taken to go against the above date of the Narasiṃha-p. This mention is certainly due to later revisions of the Purāṇa; because, of the above-mentioned chapters containing the mention of Tulasī, chap. 31 (verses 1-97) has been found to be spurious; and Nar. 34. 19 does not occur in the Ms ग used in the printed ed. Moreover, in chap. 33, which deals with the results of various kinds of service rendered to Viṣṇu and of offering different articles to this deity, there is mention of 'bilva-patra' but not of Tulasī; nor is Tulasī mentioned in chaps. 56 (on the method of consecration of the images of Viṣṇu), 62 (on the Vedic method of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship).

It is probably due to the repeated revisions of the present Narasiṃha-p. that there are disagreements between a number of statements even in those chapters which cannot be taken as spurious. For instance, in Nar. 3. 8 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have been the son of Dakṣa and his wife born respectively from Brahmā's right and left thumbs, but in Nar. 5. 22 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have given his daughter Prasūti in marriage to Dakṣa; in Nar. 3. 3-5 Rudra is said to have been born of Brahmā's rage (roṣa), but in Nar. 5. 4-5 it is said that when Brahmā was thinking of some worthy

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Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 617 shows that the texts of the Narasiṃha-p. used by Raghunandana and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin agree more with that of the printed ed. than with the text used by Madanapāla.

[331] Viz., Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata, Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, etc.

[332] Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18.

son at the beginning of the Brāhma Kalpa, the blue-red (nīla-lohita) Rudra is said to have appeared on Brahmā's lap as a child with a body half male and half female; in Nar. 4. 2-4 Brahmā is said to have created from his mind ten sons (viz., Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Pracetas, Bhṛgu, Nārada and Vasiṣṭha), of whom Nārada took to abstention (nivṛtti-dharma), but in Nar. 5. 17-19 Brahmā is said to have created nine sons (Marīci and others, except Nārada) who were known as 'nine Brahmās'; and so on.

Though the Narasiṃha-p. proposes to give 'in brief' (saṃkṣepāt) the genealogies of kings which were 'elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇas,'[333] the defects, found in these genealogies, seem to be due as much to the carelessness of the people of later ages in maintaining the correctness of these dynastic lists in their respective Mss as to their attempt at abridgment. For instance, in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A mentions Aja as the son of Dīrghabāhu, but the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713, though following the printed ed. in chap. 27, give the pedigree of Aja as 'dīrghabāhor dilīpaḥ dilīpād raghuḥ raghor ajaḥ' in chap. 22; in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed ed. as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A makes Māndhātṛ the son of Asaṃhatāśva (v. l. Asaṃkhyātāśva in chap. 22 of the printed ed.), but in chap. 27 they give a popular verse in which Māndhātṛ is called Yauvanāśva (i.e. son of Yuvanāśva); the latter pedigree of Māndhātṛ is supported by the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713 which mention Māndhātṛ as the son of Yuvanāśva in chap. 24 (yuvanāśvān māndhātā); after Nar. 27. 1 the Mss used in the printed ed. have lost an extract[334] which is found in a large number of Mss (such as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304 and Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 and 284A); and so on. There are, of course, a few cases in which the disagreements are either to be removed by referring to other better Mss or to be ascribed to the revisions to which the extant Narasiṃha-p. was subjected. For instance, different pedigrees of Soma are given in chaps. 23 and 28 of the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and the Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Saudāsa's son is called Śatruṃdama in the printed edition as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Śatrundana in the Dacca Uiiversity Ms No. 2713, but in chap. 27 he is called Satrasava in the printed edition and the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, Satreśvara in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Satyaśrava in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713; and so on.

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[333] Nar. 22. 2. Also see Nar. 23. 1.

[334] The text of this extract, as reconstructed from the Cal. Sans. Coll. and Dacca Univ. Mss, runs as follows: 'tat-putro veṇas tasya pṛthus tasya pṛthāśvaḥ/ pṛthāśvād asaṃhatāśvaḥ/ te catvāro rājāno bhūri-tejasaḥ kramād rājyaṃ kṛtvā dharmato harim ananta-śayanam ārādhya bhaktyā kratubhiś ceṣṭvā svarlokaṃ gatāḥ/'

The disagreements in the names and pedigrees of some of the kings in chaps. 22-23 (on the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties) on the one hand and chaps. 27-29 (on vaṃśānucarita, i. e. the accounts of the kings of these dynasties) on the other, are not real but are due to the editor of this Purāṇa who has not used a sufficient number of Mss for his edition. For instance, in chap. 22 the name of Pṛthāśva's son is given as Asaṃkhyātāśva in the printed ed. and Aśaṃhatāśva in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, but in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Calcutta Sankrit College Ms No. 36 he is named as Saṃhatāśva, while in chap. 27 he is called Asaṃhatāśva in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Māndhātṛ's son is called Purukutsa in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A and 2713, but in chap. 27 Māndhātṛ's son is named Purukuśya in the printed ed., Kurupuccha in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Purukutsa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Ms No. 2713; in chap. 22 Dīrghabāhu's father is named Anaraṇa in the printed ed. and Anaraṇya in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms ग used in the printed ed., but in chap. 27 he is called Anaraṇa in all these sources; in chap. 22 Padma's son is Anuparṇa in the printed ed. and Ṛtuparṇa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and in the Dacca Vniversity Mss, but in chap. 27 he is called Ṛtuparṇa in all these sources;[335] and so on.

Though the Matsya-p.,[336] the Skanda-p.[337] and the Revā-māhātmya[338] attach the 'Narasiṃha-p.' to the Padma-p. as a sub-division (upabheda) of the latter, the present Narasiṃha-p. always calls itself a 'Purāṇa'[339] and never an 'Upapurāṇa', nor does it attach itself to any Mahāpurāṇa for the sake of authority. As a matter of fact, in chap. 1, verses 33-34 it speaks of the five characteristics of 'Purāṇa', viz., *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vaṃśa*, *manvantara* and *vaṃśānucarita* and proposes to deal with all these topics, and in chap. 67 verses 17-18 it says that it has dealt with the five topics, viz., *sarga*, *pratisarga* etc; but it betrays no knowledge of the Upapurāṇas. So, it is evident that though according to the later tradition the Narasiṃha-p. is classed as an Upapurāṇa, it is really an independent 'Purāṇa' like the Vāyu, Viṣṇu etc.

It has already been said that the present Narasiṃha-p. knows the extant Vāyu and Viṣṇu and the earlier Varāha-p. Its mention of the word 'Purāṇa' in the plural number on several occasions to mean distinct Purāṇic works, shows that more Purāṇas than one came into existence before its composition.[340] It is not known whether the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. or the Viṣṇudharmottara is referred to in chap. 10 (verses 54-55) which seems to be a later addition.

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[335] Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 names Padma's son as Ṛtaparṇa in both the chapters (22 and 27).

[336] upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ/
pādme purāṇe tatroktaṃ narasiṃhopavarṇanam/
taccāṣṭādaśa-sāhasraṃ nārasiṃham ihocyate// Mat. 53. 59.

This verse is quoted by Hemādri (in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, and II. i, p. 21), Caṇḍeśvara (in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 31), Narasiṃha Vājapeyin (in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18), Jīva Gosvāmin (in his commentary, called Krama-saṃdarbha, on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22), and Mitra Miśra (in his Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14). Caṇḍeśvara and Mitra Miśra do not quote the first line.

[337] VII (Prabhāsa-kh.). i. 2. 79b-80 (these lines are the same as Mat. 53. 59 quoted above); V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 48a.

[338] See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65. The Revā-māhātmya claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.

[339] See Nar. 1. 15; 1. 24; 1. 29; 67. 17; 67. 21, 22 and 25. See also the chapter-colophons. In the Mss also, the Narasiṃha-p. is called a 'Purāṇa'.

A careful examination of the original and the spurious chapters of the present Narasiṃha-p. shows that this Purāṇa was originally a work of the Pāñcarātra sect with remarkable Bhāgavata inclination. The Pāñcarātras themselves added a few more chapters and extracts at a later date. It was then considerably changed by the Bhāgavatas with further additions and alterations.

The entire Narasiṃha-p., as we have it now, is not composed in verse. There are a few chapters and extracts which are written in simple prose. These are the following:—Nar. 19. 7-23 (on the birth of the Aśvins); chap. 21 (on the origin of the Maruts); 22. 4-15 (on the names of the kings of the Solar race); 23. 2-13 (on the names of the kings of the Lunar race); 24. 1-36 (on the Manvantaras); 27. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Solar race); 28. 1-16 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 29. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 30. 2-16 (except 5, which is a verse); 52. 25-31. A portion of chap. 9 is written in Puṣpitāgrā (also called Aupacchandasika).

The language of the Narasiṃha-p. contains numerous solecisms. For instance, it has 'abhūvan' for 'abhavan' (Nar. 1. 62), 'vyajāyata' for 'vyajanayat' (Nar. 5. 21), 'jajñe' for 'janayāmāsa' (Nar. 5. 29, 31 and 35), 'snāyantī' for 'snāntī' (Nar. 6. 26), 'vedavidaiḥ' for 'vedavidbhiḥ' (6. 46) 'susaṅgītavidaiḥ' for '-vidbhiḥ' (34. 36), 'mātṛ-pitarau' for 'mātā-pitarau' (7. 14), 'vīkṣayāmāsa' for 'vīkṣāmāsa' (14. 23), 'vartatīṃ' for 'vartamānāṃ' (19. 15), 'manujāṃ' for 'manujānāṃ' (18. 12), 'pravartatīṃ' for 'pravartamānāṃ' (19. 17), and so on.

Like the other Purāṇic works, the Narasiṃha-p. also tries to give itself a garb of great sanctity and high antiquity by tracing its descent from Brahmā. In chap. 67, verses 19-22 it gives the following tradition of inheritance:— Brahmā himself spoke out this Purāṇa to the sages Marīci and others; the next recipient was Mārkaṇḍeya, who then narrated it to a king of the Nāga family;[341] Vyāsa then received it through Narasiṃha's favour.

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[340] See Nar. 1. 24 (vyāsa-prasādāj jānāmi purāṇāni tapodhanāḥ); 22. 2 (rājñāṃ vaṃśaḥ purāṇeṣu vistareṇa prakīrtitaḥ); 56. 10b-11a; 58. 108.

Nar. 57 (verses 8 to the end) and 58-61, which deal with the duties of the four castes and orders of life, are found printed word for word under the title Hārīta-saṃhitā in the Ūnaviṃśati Saṃhitā.[342] These chapters also appear as Laghu-hārīta-smṛti in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). Now, the question arises as to whether it was the Hārīta-saṃhitā (or Laghu-hārīta-smṛti) which was incorporated in the present Narasiṃha-p., or the above-mentioned chapters of the Narasiṃha-p. were given the character of an independent Smṛti work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' (or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti'). An examination of the Hārīta-saṃhitā shows that it was the above-mentioned chapters of the present Narasiṃha-p. which were taken off and given the form of an independent work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti' which was derived from the name of the original speaker Hārīta. The Hārīta-saṃhitā begins as follows:

> ye varṇāśrama-dharmasthās te bhaktāḥ keśavaṃ prati/
> iti pūrvaṃ tvayā proktaṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar dvijottamāḥ//
> varṇānām āśramāṇāṃ ca dharmān no brūhi sattama/
> yena saṃtuṣyate devo nārasiṃhaḥ sanātanaḥ//
> mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/
> atrāhaṃ kathayiṣyāmi purā-vṛttam anuttamam/
> ṛṣibhiḥ saha saṃvādaṃ hārītasya mahātmanaḥ//

Of these verses, which are the same as Nar. 57. 8-10, the first shows that something has already been said, of which these verses form a continuation; and in fact the first verse points to Nar. 57. 2-7 wherein Mārkaṇḍeya, being asked by king Sahasrānīka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu thus:

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[341] For the reading 'rājño nāga-kulasya ha' of the printed ed., the Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 reads 'rājño vai nākulasya ca' and the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 323 and 2713 have 'rājño vai nākulasya ha' and 'rājño vai nahuṣasya ha' respectively.

[342] Edited (with a Bengali translation) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B. S.

viṣṇu-bhaktā mahotsāhā viṣṇvarcana-vidhau sadā/
saṃyatā dharma-saṃpannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te//
paropakāra-niratā guru-śuśrūṣaṇe ratāh/
varṇāśramācāra-yutāḥ sarveṣāṃ supriyaṃvadāḥ//
etc. etc.

Though from a perusal of the Hārīta-saṃhitā we understand that Mārkaṇḍeya reports to a king named Sahasrānīka what Hārīta said to the sages on the duties of the four castes and orders of life, nothing is said in the Hārīta-saṃhitā either about the identity of these two persons or about the occasion, time or place in which they met each other. Even the name of the king is given as late as in chap. 7 (verse 20). But it is the Narasiṃha-p. which tells us who king Sahasrānīka was and how he met the sage Mārkaṇḍeya. We have already said that the Narasiṃha-p. is a work meant for the glorification of the worship of Narasiṃha. This character is betrayed by the Hārīta-saṃhitā also.[343] Moreover, none of the quotations made in their works by Viśvarūpa, Aparārka, Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa and Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-hārīta, Laghu-hārīta, Bṛhaddhārīta and Svalpa-hārīta is to be met with in our so-called Hārīta-saṃhitā. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' are traceable in the Hārīta-saṃhitā. For example,

the verses quoted from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti,		Hārīta-saṃhitā
p. 79	=	3. 12;
p. 125	=	4. 18-20;
p. 153	=	4. 60-61;
p. 189	=	4. 71, 72a and 73a;
p. 965	=	6. 11b-22.

These show that the chapters, now known as Hārīta-saṃhitā or

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[343] See its introductory verse quoted above; see also Hārīta-saṃhitā 2. 9; 4. 75-76a; 7. 19.

Laghu-hārīta-smṛti, originally belonged to the Narasiṃha-p. These chapters seem to be based on different Smṛti works such as the Parāśara-smṛti and the Hārīta-dharmaśāstra (as known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa); because Parāśara-smṛti 1.50 (vaiśvadeve tu saṃprāpte etc.) greatly resembles Nar. 58. 100-101a (akṛte vaiśvadeve tu etc.), and the verse 'anena vidhinā yo hi āśramān upasevate etc.', quoted from the 'Hārīta-dharma-śāstra' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 174, slightly resembles Nar. 58. 37 (evaṃ yo vidhim āsthāya etc.).

Here we should like to say a few words on the contents of the Narasiṃha-p. as known to some of the Nibandha-writers. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 351 Raghunandana quotes from the 'Narasiṃha-p.' twenty-four metrical lines on general maxims (*naya*), such as 'One should give salutary advice to his friend in proper time, even though he may not be asked for it,' 'One, who believes the servants of the king or the bastards, do not live long', 'One should not allow the remaining part of the enemies, debt and fire to continue, because these increase again,' 'One should not begin any work which may create repentance in the end,' and so on. He also quotes in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 827 a verse on the proper time for marriage. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 66 Raghunandana quotes from the same source a verse in which 'Tulasī' and 'Kṛṣṇa-tulasī' have been mentioned as pleasing to Hari. In his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, p. 451 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Nārasṃha' seventeen metrical lines on dressing a child with clothes for the first time. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii. pp. 41-49 Hemādri quotes a large extract of 173 metrical lines on a vow called Narasiṃha-caturdaśī which was given in the 'Narasiṃha-p.' in connection with the Narasiṃha-prādurbhāva. In this extract Nṛsiṃha, being asked by Prahlāda as to how he became devoted to Nṛsiṃha and was blessed with good, says that in his previous birth Prahlāda was a Brahmin named Vāsudava and was addicted to a prostitute and that this Vāsudeva performed no other good deed than a Vrata of Nṛsiṃha. Prahlāda again asked Nṛsiṃha to narrate in details the whole story. Consequently Nṛsiṃha said that in the city of Avantī there was a famous Brahmin named Suśarman who mastered all the Vedas and performed all his duties. This Suśarman had a chaste and devoted wife named

Suśīlā, who gave birth to five worthy sons, of whom Vāsudeva was the youngest. Unlike the other brothers, Vāsudeva was addicted to prostitutes, became a drunkard, and stole gold for financing his evil deeds. Once he quarrelled with a prostitute and kept awake throughout the whole night without taking food. The prostitute also did so. Thus, Vāsudeva unconsciously performed the Vrata of Nṛsiṃha, was born as Prahlāda, and became devoted to Nṛsiṃha. The prostitute became an Apsaras. Next, being asked by Prahlāda to describe the Vrata in details, Nṛsiṃha did so. Hemādri also quotes verses on Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, and offer of different articles such as *kamaṇḍalu*, fruits, foot-wears, umbrella, clothes etc. to the Pitṛs in śrāddha ceremonies. Śūlapāṇi quotes verses on śrāddha in his Vrata-kāla-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka and Tithi-viveka. In his Caitanya-caritāmṛta, III, pp. 67 and 289 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja quotes from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' three verses, in one of which it is said that even a Mleccha (i. e. a Muhammadan), who, being attacked by a boar, cries out 'Hārāma' 'Hārāma' ('Boar', 'Boar'), attains final emancipation.[344] It is needless to say that none of these verses is found in the present Narasiṃha-p.

In his Haribhaktivilāsa, pp. 923-7 and 929-931 Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.', 126 metrical lines on Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata. As all these verses are found ascribed to the 'Narasiṃha-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii. pp. 41-49, it seems that either Gopālabhaṭṭa was wrong in his ascription of these verses or the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.' derived some of its extracts and verses from the Narasiṃha-p. In the Ekāmra-p. (chap. 1) the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.' has been clearly distinguished from the 'Nārasiṃha', the former being included among the Upapurāṇas and the latter among the principal Purāṇas.

[(A). Many Mss of the Narasiṃha-p. (including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed edition:—

prītyāṃ pulastya-bhāryāyāṃ dattolis tat-suto'bhavat/
tasya vai viśravāḥ putras tat-putrā rāvaṇādayaḥ//

[344] daṃṣṭri-daṃṣṭrā-hato mleccho hārāmeti punaḥ punaḥ/
uktvāpi muktim āpnoti kiṃ punaḥ śraddhayā gṛṇan//

rākṣasā bahavaḥ proktā laṅkāpura-nivāsinaḥ/
yeṣāṃ vadhāya lokeśo viṣṇuḥ kṣīrodadhau purā/
brahmādyaiḥ prārthito devair avatāram ihākarot//
karddamaś cāmbarīṣaś ca sahiṣṇuś ca suta-trayam/
kṣamā tu suṣuve bhāryā pulahasya prajāpateḥ//
kratos tu sannatir bhāryā bālakhilyān asūyata/
ṣaṣṭis tāni sahasrāṇi ṛṣīṇām ūrdhva-retasām//
aṅguṣṭha-parva-mātrāṇāṃ jvalad-bhāskara-tejasām//
pracetaso'tha satyāyāṃ satyasandhās trayaḥ sutāḥ/
jātās tat-putra-pautrāś ca śataśo'tha sahasraśaḥ//
ūrjāyāṃ ca vasiṣṭhasya saptājāyanta vai sutāḥ/
rajogātrordhvabāhuś ca sabalaś cānaghas tathā/
sutapāḥ śukra ity ete sarve saptarṣayo 'bhavan//
bhṛgoḥ khyātyāṃ samutpannā lakṣmīr viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ/
tathā dhātṛ-vidhātārau khyātyāṃ jātau sutau bhṛgoḥ//
āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane/
dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau//
prāṇaś caiva mṛkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ/
yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//
tato vedaśirā jajñe prāṇasyāpi suto'bhavat/
dyutimān iti vikhyātaḥ sañjayas tat-suto'bhavat//
tato vaṃśo mahābhāga bhārgavo vistaraṃ gataḥ//

See, for instance, chap. 5 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fol. 7a-b) and 304 (fols. 6b-7a) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 8b-9b), 323 (fols. 9b-10a), and 2713 (fol. 7a-b). There are some variations in readings in these Mss, which need not be noted here.

(B) After verse 7 of chap. 57 of the printed edition, many Mss including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses: —

puṣpair araṇya-saṃbhūtaiḥ patrair vā giri-saṃbhavaiḥ/
aparyuṣita-niśchidraiḥ prokṣitair jantu-varjitaiḥ//
ātmārāmodbhavair vāpi puṣpaiḥ saṃpūjayeddharim/
puṣpa-jāti-viśeṣais tu bhavet puṇyaṃ viśeṣataḥ//

tapaḥ-śīla-guṇopeta-pātre vedasya pārage/
daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalaṃ labhate naraḥ/
tat phalaṃ labhate martyo harau kumuda-dānataḥ//
droṇa-puṣpe tathaikasmin mādhavāya nivedite/
daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalaṃ tad avāpnuyāt//
evaṃ puṣpa-viśeṣeṇa phalaṃ tad adhikaṃ nṛpa/
jñeyaṃ puṣpāntareṇaiva yathā syāt tannibodha me//
droṇa-puṣpa-sahasrebhyaḥ khādiraṃ vai viśiṣyate/
khādirebhyaḥ sahasrebhyaḥ śamī-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate//
śamī-puṣpa-sahasrebhyo bilva-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate/
bilva-puṣpa-sahasrebhyo vaka-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate//
vaka-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi nandyāvartaṃ viśiṣyate/
nandyāvarta-sahasrebhyaḥ karavīraṃ viśiṣyate//
karavīra-sahasrebhyaḥ śvetaṃ tat puṣpam uttamam/
karavīra-śveta-puṣpāt plalāśaṃ puṣpam uttamam//
palāśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kuśa-paṣpaṃ viśiṣyate/
kuśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi vanamālā viśiṣyate//
vanamālā-sahasrāddhi campakaṃ puṣpam iṣyate/
campakānāṃ puṣpa-śatād aśokaṃ puṣpam uttamam//
aśokānāṃ sahasrāddhi samantī-puṣpam uttamam/
samantī-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kubjakaṃ puṣpam uttamam//
kubja-puṣpa-sahasrāṇāṃ mālatī-puṣpam uttamam/
mālatī-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi sandhyāraktaṃ taduttamam//
sandhyārakta-sahasrāddhi trisandhyāśvetam uttamam/
trisandhyāśveta-sahasrāt kunda-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate//
kunda-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi śatapatraṃ viśiṣyate/
śatapatra-sahasrāddhi mallikā-puṣpam uttamam//
mallikā-puṣpa-sahasrāj jāti-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate/
sarvāsāṃ puṣpa-jātīnāṃ jāti-puṣpam ihottamam//
jāti-puṣpa-sahasreṇa yo mālāṃ nityaśo dadet/
viṣṇave vidhivad bhaktyā tasya puṇya-phalaṃ śṛṇu//
kalpa-koṭi-sahasrāṇi kalpa-koṭi-śatāni ca/
vased viṣṇupure śrīmān viṣṇu-tulya-parākramaḥ//
śeṣāṇāṃ puṣpa-jātīnāṃ yat phalaṃ vidhinoditam/
tat-phalasyānusāreṇa viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//

patrāṇy api supuṣpāṇi hareḥ prītikarāṇi ca/
pravakṣyāmi nṛpa-śreṣṭha śṛṇuṣva gadato mama//
apāmārga-patraṃ prathamaṃ tasmād bhṛṅgārakaṃ param/
tasmāt tu khādiraṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tataś ca śami-patrakam//
dūrvā-patraṃ tataḥ śreṣṭhaṃ tato'pi kuśa-patrakam/
tasmād āmalakaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tato bilvasya patrakam//
bilva-patrād api hares tulasī-patram uttamam//
eteṣāṃ tu yathālabdhaiḥ patrair vā yo'rcayeddharim/
sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//

evaṃ hi rājan narasiṃha-mūrteḥ
prīyāṇi puṣpāṇi taveritāni/
etaiś ca nityaṃ harim arcya bhaktyā
naro viśuddho harim eva yāti//

See, for instance, chap. 51 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fols. 77a-78a) and 304 (fols. 82b-83b) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 118a-119a), 323 (fols. 114a-115a) and 2713 (fols. 86b-87b). There are many variations in readings in these Mss, but these need not be noted here.

Many of these verses are the same as Bhav. I. 163. 57ff. From the position of these verses in the Narasiṃha-p. it seems that the Narasiṃha-p. is the borrower. As Gopālabhaṭṭa, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Madanapāla and Devaṇabhaṭṭa quote many of these verses in their respective works, it is sure that these verses have been occurring in the Narasiṃha-p. from a time earlier than Devaṇabhaṭṭa.]

CHAPTER IV

THE MINOR VAIṢṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

Besides the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas examined in the immediately preceding Chapter there were many others which dealt with the cult of Viṣṇu and belonged to comparatively late dates; but of these, only a few have come down to us, the rest appearing to have been extinct on account of their importance being restricted to particular localities or times. As, due to various inconveniences, I could not get access to the manuscripts of all those of these extant Upapurāṇas which have not yet been published, my treatment of these works could not be expected to be exhaustive. I should, however, point out that the minor Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, left out of consideration here, are very few (being about two or three in number) and come from very late dates.

From our examination of the Upapurāṇas below we shall see that many of these works were compiled in eastern India, especially in Bengal, under varying circumstances created by the spread of the heresies, mainly Buddhism, and the Tantric cults. A study of the history of Vaiṣṇavism shows that this religious faith, being more closely connected with the Vedas than Śaivism, Śāktism etc., has been used in different ages as a corrective of social indiscipline caused and encouraged by the heresies and the popular cults. Moreover, there were changes in the ideas, rites and customs of the Vaiṣṇavas with the progress of time, and these also must have given them impetus to compile new Upapurāṇic works for the guidance of the people.

1. THE KRIYĀYOGASĀRA[1]

In the chapter-colophons of its printed editions as well as of its Mss this work claims to belong to the Padma-p. Hence it has been regarded as one of the Khaṇḍas of the latter and printed accordingly in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Padma-p. with the words 'atha kriyāyogasāra-khaṇḍam ārabhyate'. But really it is a distinct and independent work attached, most probably at a later date, to the Padma-p. for the sake of authority. It begins like other independent Purāṇic works and styles itself 'Upapurāṇa' in its concluding verse;[2] and nowhere in the

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[1] The Vaṅga ed. of this work consists of 26 chapters and is practically the same as that published with the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Padma-p.

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1224-25, No. 3898 (complete in 25 chapters and ending with the words 'samāptaṃ cedam upapurāṇam iti').

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 14, No. 55 (complete in 25 chapters), and p. 15, No. 56 (incomplete).

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 195, No. 3458, and pp. 199-202, Nos. 3464-69. (Of these Mss, No. 3465 begins from chap. 3 of the printed ed., consists of 24 chapters, and is dated Śaka 1618; Nos. 3466 and 3469 are incomplete; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).

(4) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 113-6, No. 1162 (complete in 25 chapters).

(5) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, p. 185, No. 299 (complete in 25 chapters).

(6) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 919, No. 6625 (containing 24 chapters, of which the last deals with 'atithi-māhātmya' and is the same as chap. 25 of the printed ed.).

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 328, No. 2140 (incomplete).

(8) Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., pp. 72-73, Nos. 29-31 (of which the first is incomplete, and the last two consist of 25 chapters each).

(9) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 145.

(10) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 189B, 282A, 544, 641, 920, 996, 1062D, 1399, 1464, 1670, 1724, 2102, 2107E and F, 2791, 3232, 4042, 4095, 4212, and 4242 (of which, Nos. 189B, 920, 1062D, 1399, 1724, 2107E and F, 4042 and 4242 are incomplete; No. 996 consists of 24 chapters, of which the last one is the same as chap. 25 of the printed edition; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).

Chap. 5 of the Mss mentioned above has been split up into chaps. 5-6 in the Veṅkaṭ. and Vaṅga. editions.

It is to be noted that all the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script.

(11) A. Weber, Die Handscriften Verzeichnisse De Königlichen Bibliothek (Berlin, 1853), p. 131, No. 456.

[2] Kriyāyogasāra 26. 55—

idam atiśaya-guhyaṃ niḥsṛtaṃ vyāsa-vaktrād
ruciram upapurāṇaṃ prītidaṃ vaiṣṇavānām/
etc. etc. etc.

body of its text there is any reference to its connection with the Padma-p. In some of the chapter-colophons of two of its Mss[3] it does not claim to belong to the Padma-p. The Nāradīya-p. (I. 93) also, though giving the names and contents of the different Khaṇḍas of the Padma-p., makes no mention of the Kriyāyogasāra. The independent character of this work is shown definitely by the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25.24) which names this work in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas.

The Kriyāyogasāra begins with three verses containing salutations to Hari, 'lord of Lakṣmī', who is said to have assumed various forms including that of Vyāsa, the author of the Purāṇas. It then states that once Sūta came with his pupils to Naimiṣāraṇya where the sages were holding a meeting for the good of the world. One of these sages, Śaunaka by name, referred to the evils of the Kali age and requested Sūta to tell them how people could be highly devoted to Hari. Consequently, Sūta reported to the sages what Vyāsa had said to Jaimini on 'kriyāyoga-sāra' (i.e. 'the essence of *yoga* by work'), which was furnished with various stories as well as with discourses on Nārāyaṇa. Thus the topics of the Kriyāyogasāra have been introduced in chap. 1. The contents of the remaining chapters as are follows.

Chap. 2.—Description of the first creation of the universe.—

Mahāviṣṇu's appearance as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, who were created respectively from the right, left and middle parts of his body; and his Ādyā Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā in order to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. Brahmā's creation of the five elements as well as of the different *lokas* including the earth.

Geography of the earth (with its continents, oceans and mountains). Position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be bounded on the north by

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In our Veṅkaṭ. and Vaṅga. editions as well as in some of the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra the reading 'ruciratara-purāṇam' is found in place of 'ruciram upapurāṇam' occurring in the great majority of the Mss mentioned above. Mitra's Ms reads 'sarasatara-purāṇam' (see Mitra, Notices, III, p. 114).

[3] See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 282A and 1464.

the Himalayas and on the south by the Vindhya mountain.[4] Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the 'karma-dhūmi' (place of work) for the Vaiṣṇavas (called Bhāgavatas). Praise of Vaiṣṇavas.

Story of Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

Viṣṇu's enumeration of the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavas, who are to look upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra as equal, to wear garlands made of Tulasī wood and Dhātrī fruits, to mark their limbs with the figures of *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma*, to bathe regularly in the waters of the Gaṅgā, to study the Bhāgavata (śāstraṃ bhāgavatam), to construct new Viṣṇu-temples or repair old ones, to plant Pippala (Aśvattha) trees, to serve cows and superiors, to have no regard for the Pāṣaṇḍas, to be devoted to Śiva, to worship Viṣṇu, and to do various other works.

Chap. 3.—Praise of 'kriyā-yoga' over 'dhyāna-yoga'. Kriyā-yoga consists of (i) worship of Gaṅgā, Śrī and Viṣṇu, (ii) donation, (iii) devotion to Brahmins, (iv) observance of the Ekādaśī-vrata, (v) regard for Dhātrī trees and Tulasī plants, and (vi) hospitality to guests.[5]

Jaimini's request to Vyāsa to describe the benefits of the pious acts constituting 'kriyā-yoga'. Vyāsa's consequent praise of the Gaṅgā (which is said to be specially sacred at Gaṅgā-dvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama) by narrating the story of a vulture which described to king Manobhadra of the Lunar race its experience of the benefits of bathing and dying in the waters of the Gaṅgā and the outcome of ignoring one's parents.

Chaps. 4-9.—Praise of the Gaṅgā continued.—Glorification of the waters of, and bath and death in, the Gaṅgā especially at Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; and narration of various relevant stories[6] including the highly interesting love-story of Mādhava and Sulocanā (both of royal descent), in which there are poetic touches at several places.[7]

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[4] Kriyāyogasāra 2. 24b-25a—

hemādri-dakṣiṇaṃ yad vai vindhyādrer uttaraṃ tathā/
āhus tad bhārataṃ varṣaṃ śubhāśubha-phala-pradam//

[5] Kriyāyogasāra 3. 4-5—

gaṅgā śrīr viṣṇu-pūjā ca dānāni dvija-sattama/
brāhmaṇānāṃ tathā bhaktir bhaktir ekādaśī-vrate//
dhātrī-tulasyor bhaktiś ca tathā cātithi-pūjanam/
kriyā-yogāṅga-bhūtāni proktānīti samāsataḥ//

[6] Such as those of (1) a sinful fowler named Dhanurdhvaja, who, being enamoured of Padmāvatī, wife of a merchant named Praṇidhi, drowned himself

(For mention of the images of Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, see verses 104-106 of chap. 4 and verses 161ff. of chap. 6).

Benefits accruing to those deceased persons whose bones are thrown into the Gaṅgā.

Method and praise of Gaṅgā-yātrā.

Chap. 10.—Praise of worshipping Viṣṇu (especially with Campaka flowers) and of doing various other pious acts during the month of Māgha.

Chaps. 11-14.—Daily duties which a Vaiṣṇava must do after leaving bed in the morning. Method and praise of worshipping Viṣṇu with the offer of different articles and of rendering various kinds of service to him during the months of Phālguna, Caitra etc. Praise of Viṣṇu-pādodaka. Glorification of Aśvattha trees by identifying them with Viṣṇu. Story of a Brahmin named Dhanañjaya who learnt from

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at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā according to the abvice of Padmāvatī's friends, became a second husband to Padmāvatī, passed to Viṣṇu's region, and attained a form similar to that of Viṣṇu himself (chap. 4); (2) a Rākṣasa named Bṛhaddhvaja, who, while abducting a married woman named Keśinī with an evil motive, died at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama and was consequently taken by Viṣṇu-dūtas to Vaikuṇṭha (chap. 4); (3) a Brahmin named Dharmasva, who, by sprinkling a dying sinner with the waters of the Gaṅgā and by placing a Tulasī leaf on his body, enabled him to escape the hands of Yama-dūtas and attain the region of Viṣṇu (chap. 7); and so on.

[7] See, for instance, the following verses:—

vanaṃ parityajya kṛśānu-bhītyā
jalaṃ praviṣṭā nalinī sukhārtham/
saṃdahyate tatra himānalena
yad yasya karma na tad anyathā syāt//
(Kriyāyogasāra 5. 155).

niśāvaśiṣṭā nalinī himākare
dūrīkṛte caṇḍakareṇa bhāsvatā/
sugandha-puṣpa-prakarātisundarī
nāpnoti kiṃ bhṛṅga-varasya saṃgamam//
(Kriyāyogasāra 5. 194).

Viṣṇu that by cutting the branch of an Aśvattha tree he hurt Viṣṇu himself.

Praise of painting the figures of *śaṅkha*, *cakra* etc. on the different parts of the body. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with different kinds of flowers and leaves. Story of a pious Brahmin who learnt from Śiva how, in his previous birth as a Śavara, he acquired merit by supplying a lotus to a Brahmin for Viṣṇu-worship.

Chaps. 15-17.—Glorification of Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa). Results of uttering the name of Rāma and of muttering the six-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo rāmāya'. Praise of Hari-bhakti. Glorification of the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. Enumeration of the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (17. 98-117). Narration of relevant stories, one of which (given in chap. 17) is clearly based on the story of the attachment of Bilvamaṅgala (author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta) towards a courtesan named Cintāmaṇi.

Chap. 18.—Praise of Puruṣottamakṣetra.—Praise of the place; praise of food (*anna*) which is offered to Viṣṇu and is said to be acceptable to the members of the higher castes even if it is touched by a Cāṇḍāla;[8] worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā; praise of bath in the Indradyumna-saras, Mārkaṇḍeya-hrada, Śvetagaṅgā etc. and of visiting Śvetamādhava, Hanūmat, the Akṣaya-vaṭa tree etc.; praise of receiving cane-strokes until blood comes out in profusion;[9] performance of dola-yātrā, mahāsnāna, ratha-yātrā and Guṇḍicāmaṇḍapa-yātrā; and so on.

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[8] cāṇḍālenāpi saṃspṛṣṭaṃ grāhyaṃ tatrānnam agrajaiḥ/
sākṣād viṣṇur yatas tatra cāṇḍālo dvija-sattama//
Kriyāyogasāra 18. 7.

[9] tatra vetra-prahāreṇa śarīraṃ yasya lohitam/
taṃ vandante dvija-śreṣṭha devāḥ śakrādayo 'khilāḥ//
... ...
kadā vetra-prahāreṇa kṣetre śrīpuruṣottame/
bhaviṣyanty asmadīyāni lohitāni vapūṃṣi ca//
vāsavādyāḥ surāḥ sarve tasmin kṣetre varaprade/
sadā vetra-prahārāṃś ca vāñchanti dvija-sattama//
Kriyāyogasāra 18. 24-28.

Chap. 19.—Praise of revering Viṣṇu and dedicating various kinds of food to him. Praise of Viṣṇu-naivedya. Narration of the stories of Urvīśu (who, although a robber, dedicated to Viṣṇu a cart made of *guḍa* and was consequently favoured by the deity) and a Brahmin named Sarvajani (who, in his previous birth, got rid of his birdhood by taking Viṣṇu-naivedya).

Qualifications of persons with whom Viṣṇu is satisfied.

Chaps. 20-21.—Praise of giving food, water, land, cows, sesamum, gems, horses, elephants, Śālagrāma stone, *tulā-puruṣa* etc. Denouncement of a kanyā-vikrayin (verses 128-132). Qualifications of Brahmins who are worthy recipients of gifts. Narration of relevant stories.

Chaps. 22-23.—Praise of Ekādaśī-vrata; and the rules for its observance. Narration of relevant stories including that of Pāpa-puruṣa (a being made of sins) who is to reside in food on the Ekādaśī Tithi.

Chaps. 24-25.—Praise of a Tulasī plant which is said to be capable of conferring on its devotees the four ends of life. Results of rendering various kinds of service to it.

Praise of Dhātrī trees, which are said to be as sacred as Tulasī plants. Praise of hospitality to guests.

Narration of relevant stories.

Chap. 26.—Conduct of people during the different *yugas*, especially the Kali-yuga.

The above contents of the Kriyāyogasāra show that this work is to be valued mainly from the religious point of view. It is a Bhāgavata document on the praise of Viṣṇu-worship. It conceives of Mahāviṣṇu as identical with Parātman and states that this Mahāviṣṇu appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for the sake of creation, and his Ādyā Prakṛti, being the cause of the universe, assumes the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. It advocates *bhakti*, lays special stress on dāsya-bhakti,[10] and believes that by devoutly worshipping

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[10] Cf. tvad-dāṣa-dāṣa-dāsatvaṃ dāsasya dehi me prabho//
(Kriyāyogasāra 11. 113b).
tvad-dāṣa-dāṣa-dāsānāṃ dāsatvenāpi māṃ vṛṇu//
(Kriyāyogasāra 17. 250b).

Viṣṇu one can attain *sārūpya*, *sālokya* and *kaivalya*. It is of opinion that a Cāṇḍāla, who is devoted to Viṣṇu, is really superior to a Brahmin who is not so.[11] It rarely uses the name 'Kṛṣṇa,' but its mention of Balarāma instead of Kṛṣṇa in its lists of incarnations (including Buddha and Kalkin) shows that it looks upon Kṛṣṇa as identical with Mahāviṣṇu himself. It recommends the study of the Bhāgavata-p., calls the Vaiṣṇavas 'Bhāgavata,' and preaches the equality of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[12] The sectarian *mantras* mentioned in it are the following:- 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya,' 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' and 'oṃ namo rāmāya.'

That the Kriyāyogasāra is a work of Bengal,[13] and most probably of its eastern part, can be shown by the following pieces of evidence. (1) Mss of this work are found in Bengal in large numbers, but they are very rare in other provinces. (2) All of the numerous Mss of this work, hitherto discovered and preserved in different places in and outside India, are written in Bengali script. (3) That this work was very popular in Bengal is shown by the fact that it was translated into Bengali by different authors at different times. In the Dacca University collection there are several Mss of Bengali translations of this work by different writers, viz., Ananta Datta, Rāmeśvara Nandī, Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa and Śiva-nārāyaṇa.[14] (4) It was the writers of Bengal who first recognised the Kriyāyogasāra as an authoritative work. The Bṛhad-dharma-p., which is the first and most probably the only work to include the Kriyāyogasāra among the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, belongs decidedly to Bengal. (5) Although the Kriyāyogasāra says that the Gaṅgā is specially sacred at three places, viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, it gives more attention to the praise of the last one. (6) The fruits and flowers, mentioned in the Kriyāyogasāra, are very common in Bengal. (7) The description of Mādhava's marriage with Sulocanā, as given in chap. 5 of the Kriyāyogasāra, includes certain rites which are peculiar to Bengal. These rites are (a) the performance of *adhivāsa* of the bride on the day immediately preceding that of marriage, and the tying of Dūrvā grass to her hand with a few folds of thread on this occasion,[15] (b) the sounding of conch-shells before marriage,[16] and (c) the taking of the bride, seated on a flat seat (pīṭha—popularly called पीड़ि in Bengal) of 'Gambhārī wood,' by her paternal blood-relations to the bridegroom in the marriage-pandal at the time of marriage.[17] It is to be noted that Gambhārī wood is very commonly used for making seats, boats etc. in Eastern Bengal and Assam (especially in the districts of Mymensingh, Sylhet, Tipperah etc.). In the vernacular works of mediaeval Bengal, there are numerous references to the use of 'Gāmārī' or 'Gāmbhārī' wood for the construction of various things such as boats and flat seats (popularly called पीड़ि and meant for use especially in marriage), and so on.[18] (8) Some words have been used in the same peculiar meanings as they are found to carry in present-day Bengal.—(a) The word 'prastāva' has been used in the sense of 'story,' 'account' etc. in Kriyāyogasāra 6. 125 (sulocanāyāḥ prastāvaṃ kathayāmāsa bhūtale). It should be mentioned here that this word is found to be used in the above-mentioned sense in Eastern Bengal only. (b) The word 'nikaṭa' has been used in the sense of 'to' or 'near' in Kriyāyogasāra 5. 121 (gatvā tannikaṭe ....) and 160 (asau duḥkhāgatā kanyā varasya nikaṭe 'dhunā). (c) The word 'sādhu' has been used in the sense of 'merchant' in Kriyāyogasāra 4.50 (tāṃ sādhu-patnīm ādāya yayuḥ...). This word has been used in the above-mentioned sense in the Hitopadeśa, which is, in all probability, a work of Bengal. (d) The word 'kallola' has been used in the sense of 'rinsing' in Kriyāyogasāra 10.21 (kuryād dvādaśa viprendra kallolāni jalair budhaḥ) and 22. 90 (kallolair mukha-śuddhiṃ tu kuryād dvādaśabhir budhaḥ). This word seems to be the Sanskritised form of the word 'कुलकुलि' as used in Eastern Bengal to mean 'rinsing.' It has also some resemblance with the word 'कुलि' (meaning 'rinsing') used in western and other parts of Bengal. (e) The root 'nī' has been used in the sense of 'grah' (to take) in Kriyāyogasāra 6. 148 (vipattyāṃ yena hastena nayet pāda-rajaḥ khalu/ śiraḥ kṛntati tenaiva svāminaḥ prāpya saṃpadam//). (9) Some expressions have been formed in imitation of those in Bengali. As an instance we may cite Kriyāyogasāra 6. 100-101—kanyāyā dūṣaṇaṃ nāsti nāsti vidyādharasya vā/ mamaiva dūṣaṇaṃ sarvaṃ yato hīnasya saṅgabhāk// (Cf. Bengali—कन्यार दोष नाइ, आमारइ सब दोष). (10) The method of carrying water in pitchers, as referred to in the verse 'ityālocya varārohā savyakacche ghaṭaṃ tataḥ/ kṛtvā palāyane bhītyā manaś cakre sarovarāt//' (5.28), is very common with the women of Bengal.

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[11] harer abhakto vipro'pi vijñeyaḥ śvapacādhikaḥ/
hari-bhaktaḥ śvapāko'pi vijñeyo brāhmaṇādhikaḥ//
Kriyāyogasāra 16. 3.

[12] Cf. brahma-viṣṇu-maheśānāṃ madhye ye bhedakāriṇaḥ/
... . teṣāṃ ruṣṭo'smy ahaṃ sadā//
Kriyāyogasāra 19. 103b-104a.

[13] In his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological (p. 82) Wilson says that the Kriyāyogasāra 'is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal' and that it 'does not appear to be known in the South of India'.

[14] See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 4158, 662 and K507 (author—Ananta Datta), No. 1341 (author—Rāmeśvara Nandī), No. K23 (author—Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa), and No. K206 (author—Śiva-nārāyaṇa).

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[15] Kriyāyogasāra 5. 97; 5. 112 (adyādhivāsanaṃ karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam); 5.198 (adhivāsana-sūtrāṇi sadūrvāṇi bhuje mama); and 6. 129 (athādhivāsanaṃ karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam).

[16] Ibid., 5. 149.

[17] Ibid., 5. 152—

gambhārī-kāṣṭha-racitaṃ pīṭham āruhya sundarī/
jñātibhir veṣṭitā yātā vara-sthānaṃ sulocanā//

[18] See, for instance, Bhavānanda's Harivaṃśa, p. 50 (lines 2058-59—भाङ्गा नाओ नहे मोर गामारीर सार। आछुक मानुष हस्ती घोडा करि पार ॥) and Mukundarāma's Kavi-kaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī, p. 395 (गाम्भारि-पीठे)

It is needless to say that both these works are written in Bengali.

The Kriyāyogasāra is not a very early work. It is quite familiar with the names of the zodiacal signs,[19] praises the Tulasī plant on many occasions, mentions the Buddha incarnation in two places,[20] and recommends the study of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata (bhārataṃ vyāsa-bhāṣitam) and the Bhāgavata-p.[21] In chap. 17 it contains a story which is clearly an imitation of that of Bilvamaṅgala. Hence the Kriyāyogasāra cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D. Again, a

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[19] Kriyāyogasāra 4. 6, 10, 15 etc.; 13. 75.

[20] Ibid., 6. 188; and 11. 94.

[21] Ibid., 2. 94 (śālagrāma-śilā yeṣāṃ gṛhe vasati sarvadā/ śāstraṃ bhāgavataṃ caiva jñeyās te vaiṣṇavā janāḥ//); and 22. 137 (rāmāyaṇaṃ bhāgavataṃ bhārataṃ vyāsa-bhāṣitam/ anyāni ca purāṇāni pāṭhyāni hari-vāsare//).

Ms of this work is dated 1556 Śaka[22]; and the Bṛhaddharma-p., which was written in Bengal either in the latter half of the thirteenth or in the former half of the fourteenth century A.D.,[23] mentions the Kriyāyogasāra in its list of Upapurāṇas and thus recognises this work as highly authoritative. Hence the *Kriyāyogasāra must have been written at least two centuries earlier, i.e. not later than the eleventh century A. D.* The facts that the Kriyāyogasāra has very little Tantric influence and that, unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., it pays no attention to Tantric Śāktism, show that it is to be dated earlier than the Mahābhāgavata[24] also. *It is highly probable that this work was written towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.*

The mention of 'Yavana' in the line 'ahanan niśitaiḥ khaḍgair niśāyāṃ yavanopamaḥ' (7.62) need not be taken to assign the Kriyāyogasāra to a date posterior to that of Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. As there is no second mention of Yavanas in this work, it seems that the Muhammadans were still outside Bengal and that the author of the Kriyāyogasāra had no direct knowledge of the evils of Muhammadan rule.

A study of the Kriyāyogasāra shows that at the time of composition of this work there was a great spread of the 'Pāṣaṇḍas' who disregarded Viṣṇu[25] and encouraged people to neglect the Vedas and the Purāṇas,[26] to dispossess Brahmins of their landed property,[27] to

[22] See Dacca Univ. Ms No. 1670.

[23] The questions of date and provenance of the Bṛhaddharma-p. will be discussed fully in another Volume of the present work.

[24] The Mahābhāgavata was written about the tenth or eleventh century A. D. For the date of this work see Vol. II of the present work.

[25] Cf. pākhaṇḍānāṃ samīpe........./......na kuryād dvija pūjanam//—Kriyāyogasāra 14. 3.

vāsudevasya māhātmyaṃ śrutvā......../ pākhaṇḍā na hi tṛpyanti......//
pākhaṇḍānāṃ samīpe tu viṣṇu-māhātmyaṃ....../ na vaktavyaṃ........./—
Kriyāyogasāra 19. 3-4.

[26] Cf. na vedādhyayanaṃ cakre purāṇāni ca sarvaśaḥ/
tatyājottama-saṃjñāṃ ca pākhaṇḍa-jana-saṅgamāt//
Kriyāyogasāra 17.11.

[27] Cf. pākhaṇḍa-jana-vākyena mayā bhūmir dvijanmanaḥ/ laṅghitā
... ...//—Kriyāyogasāra 6. 22.
pākhaṇḍair bodhito 'yaṃ tu jahāra dvija-śāsanam.—Kriyāyogasāra 6.27.

punish honest men,[28] and to do various other acts of violence. It should be mentioned here that by the term 'Pāṣaṇḍa' the Kriyāyogasāra means those people, especially the red-robed Buddhists, who were regardless of the Vedic injunctions and followed the non-Vedic rites and customs.[29] As the spread of these Pāṣaṇḍas was unfavourable to the Varṇāśramadharma and Viṣṇu-worship, the Kriyāyogasāra advised people not even to speak with these Pāṣaṇḍas[30]. It decried those who took beef,[31] and preached the Vedic rites as lawful (dharmya).[32] It prescribed the use of only the Vedic and the Purāṇic *mantras*,[33] encouraged the study of the Vedas and the Purāṇas, praised the performance of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca-mahāyajña),[34] and added great importance to the observance of the Vedic rules of castes and orders of life. It should be noted that in trying to popularise his religious faith as well as to establish the Vedic rules of life and conduct, the author of the Kriyāyogasāra, like those of the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., utilised the river Gaṅgā, which he regarded as much sacred as Viṣṇu.[35] Although this river played a very prominent part in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus, no importance was attached to it by the followers of the heresies. Āryadeva's Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa clearly shows how much the Buddhists denounced the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the

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[28] Cf. pākhaṇḍi-mantriṇāṃ vākyair vinā doṣair api dvija/
... ... daṇḍyante sādhavo janāḥ//—
Kriyāyogasāra 10. 40.

[29] Kriyāyogasāra 17. 77 (ye veda-saṃmataṃ kāryaṃ tyaktvānyat karma kurvate/ nijācāra-vihīnā ye pākhaṇḍās te prakīrtitāḥ//); and 26. 20b-21a (pāṣaṇḍa-saṅgha-baddhāś ca bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge/ raktāmbarā bhaviṣyanti brāhmaṇāḥ śūdra-dharmiṇaḥ//).

[30] Kriyāyogasāra 9. 16 (pākhaṇḍa-saṅgam eva.........varjayet); 17. 67 (tyaja pāṣaṇḍa-saṃsargaṃ); and 22. 129 (na pākhaṇḍajanālāpaḥ kartavyaḥ ....../ pākhaṇḍālāpa-mātreṇa sarva-dharmo vinaśyati//).

[31] Kriyāyogasāra 4. 83; and 7. 60.

[32] Kriyāyogasāra 7. 78 (kāryaṃ veda-niṣiddhaṃ yat tat pātakam iti smṛtam/ yad veda-saṃmataṃ kāryaṃ tad eva dharmyam ucyate//).

[33] Kriyāyogasāra 11. 79ff.

[34] Ibid., 22. 136; 17. 70ff.

[35] Ibid., 7. 79—yathā viṣṇuṣ tathā gaṅgā gaṅgaiva sarvapāpahā.

Gaṅgā to remove sin and acquire merit.[36] So, the authors of the Purāṇas spared no pains to establish the sanctity and divinity of this river and to connect it with the Vedic ideas on the one hand and their respective deities on the other.

2. THE ĀDI-PURĀṆA

An Ādya- or Ādi-purāṇa is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and has been drawn upon extensively by almost all the Nibandha-writers. We have also got an Ādi-purāṇa preserved in Mss[37] and published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā (with a Bengali translation), Calcutta. We shall see below that these two Ādi-purāṇas are quite distinct in character and belong to different dates.

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[36] In the Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa Āryadeva says: "If salvation could be attained by means of Ganges water, then fishermen would all attain salvation, and more particularly the fishes, which are in the Ganges day and night." (Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 351).

[37] For Mss of the Ādi-p. see

(1) Mitra, Notices, II, pp. 18-20, No. 553.

[This is an undated Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 25 chapters. It begins with verse 1 (jayati yaśodā-sūnuḥ etc.) of chap. 5 of the printed eds. and ends with the concluding verse (idaṃ mayā te kathitaṃ mahādbhutaṃ etc.) of the latter. Its contents, as given by Mitra, agree generally with those of chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds.]

(2) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85.

[No. 3335.—This is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī script and copied in 1799 A.D. It consists of 52 chapters, but its 52nd chapter, which deals with Kaṃsa-vadha, is called the 51st in the final colophon (iti śrī-ādi-purāṇe nārada-śaunakādi-saṃvāde kaṃsa-vadho nāmaikapañcāśattamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ). It begins, like Mitra's Ms, with verse 1 of chap. 5 of the printed eds. but contains a second introductory verse (na khalu bala-vilāsa° etc.) which is not found in the printed eds. Its first 25 chapters have general agreement, as regards contents, with Mitra's Ms and with chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds. Of the remaining chapters, chap. 32 deals with Dhenuka-pūrva-janma-kathana, chap. 39 with Rāsa-krīḍā-vilāsa, chaps. 42-44 with the description of different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās, chap. 45 with nāma-māhātmya, and the rest with the different deeds and exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

No. 3336.—This Ms also is written in Devanāgarī script. It was copied in

(I). The Ādi-p., published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā, Calcutta, consists of 29 chapters, of which the

1804 A.D. According to Eggeling, it is 'evidently a reproduction of the preceding Ms with all its mistakes and an additional supply of its own'.]

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9.

[No. 4072.—This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara script and dated Saṃvat 1869. For a 'full description' of this Ms, Shastri refers to the Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335.

No. 4073.—This Ms also is complete. It is written in Nāgara script and dated Saṃvat 1708. It consists of 51 chapters, of which the last one deals with Kaṃsa vadha. Its last colophon ends with the words 'samāptaś cāyaṃ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ'.]

(4) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 159.

(5) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 185.

(6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 329 and 337.

(8) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 10.

(9) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 48, No. 1026.

For short Mss of Stava, Māhātmya etc., claiming to be parts of the Ādi-p., see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 709-710.

[No. 4074 (Ms No. 3355).—This is a complete Ms dealing with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya. It consists of 7 folios and is written in Bengali characters of 'the early nineteenth century'. It is quite different from chap. 45 (on nāma-māhātmya) of Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335 and ASB Cat., V, No. 4072. Its colophon runs as follows: ity ādi-purāṇe śrikṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde śrīviṣṇor nāma-māhātmyaṃ samāptam.

No. 4075 (Ms No. 4022).—This is another Ms of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., although in its colophon the title of the work is given as 'Vaiṣṇavāmṛta'. This Ms also is written in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century', begins with the same verse as that of the immediately preceding Ms (of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya), contains an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, deals with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, and has the same text as that of the immediately preceding Ms.]

(2) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, Part i, p. 905 (Citrakūṭa-māhātmya) and pp. 905-6 (Vitastā-stava).

(3) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.

(4) Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss, pp. 267-9, No. 198 (Madhyama-bhāga of the Hemakūṭa-khaṇḍa of the Bharadvāja-saṃhitā of the Ādi-mahāpurāṇa).

first four are found neither in the Ms of the Ādi-p. noticed by R. L. Mitra nor in those described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling. It ends with the chapter on *yamalārjuna-bhaṅga* (breaking of the pair of Arjuna trees), an exploit of the infant Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. A comparison of this printed Ādi-p. with Shastri and Eggeling's Mss shows that the former does not represent the entire Ādi-p. but contains only a part of it. This fragmentary character of the printed edition is also shown by its chap. 6 which mentions the different incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's life from his birth to his exploits at Mathurā and Dvāravatī. It is highly probable that Shastri and Eggeling's Mss also do not comprise the whole work known under the title 'Ādi-p.', because these Mss end with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Mathurā and record none of the incidents at Dvāravatī, and in the second of the two complete Mss of the Ādi-p. described by H. P. Shastri, the final colophon ends with the words 'samāptaś cāyaṃ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ'. Of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Ādi-p. we know nothing at present. It seems to have dealt with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Dvāravatī.

The printed Ādi-p., which calls itself the essence of all the Purāṇas,[38] begins with the verse 'rajojuṣe janmani sattva-vṛttaye', the first two quarters of which are the same as those of the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī. This introductory verse as well as a few others which follow it contains salutations to Viṣṇu and Vyāsa, of whom the former is described as 'cinmātra-rūpa' and 'paramātma-rūpin' and is called Brahma, when consisting of pure consciousness, and Māyeśvara, when taking the human form,[39] while the latter, who is a form of Viṣṇu, is said to have divided the original Veda and given it to his disciples, to have composed a Purāṇa-saṃhitā after collecting the anecdotes (itihāsa) from the Veda, and to have written the Brahma-sūtra in order to elucidate the meaning of this Purāṇa-saṃhitā, the Bhāgavata-p. as a commentary on the Brahma-sūtra, and the present Ādi-p. to embody the essence of all these works.[40] Next, after praising the Naimiṣa forest as the Viṣṇu-vana (forest of Viṣṇu) and the best of all holy places, this Purāṇa states that once Sūta came to the hermitage of Śaunaka in this forest during a twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter and was duly received by the sages. (—Chap. 1). When Sūta took his seat, Śaunaka praised his presence as productive of immense good, asked him to take rest, and retired to the fire-sanctuary (agni-gṛha) to perform his own evening duties. (—Chap. 2). When, after taking rest, Sūta returned to Śaunaka in company with the sages, the latter described the evils of the Kali age[41] and requested the former to tell them how people could get rid of these evils and to describe, in connection with Kṛṣṇa 'the lord of cowherdesses', the essence of the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmaśāstras and the work of Bādarāyaṇa (i.e. the Brahmasūtra). (—Chap. 3). The other sages also requested Sūta to speak on the way of attaining devotion to Hari. Consequently, Sūta saluted Kṛṣṇa (whom he described as 'cidānandamaya' and 'trimūrtika') and Vyāsa, and consented to reproduce the Ādi-purāṇa which he had heard from his teacher Vyāsa and which was the essence of all Śāstras. (—Chap. 4).

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[38] See the chapter-colophons (of the Veṅkaṭ ed.), in most of which this Purāṇa is called 'sakala-purāṇa-sāra-bhūta'.

It should be mentioned here that our reference in the following pages are generally to the Veṅkaṭ. ed., unless otherwise mentioned.

[39] Ādi-p. 1. 2a—brahmeti yasya nigamair vivṛtaś cidaṃśo māyeśvaraḥ puruṣa-rūpa-dharo yadaṃśaḥ/......

In chap. 5 we are told that Vyāsa heard from Nārada this Ādi-p. which was proclaimed originally by Sanatkumāra.[42] It is said that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Vyāsa's hermitage on the bank of the Sarasvatī and was warmly received there by Vyāsa's pupils, and that being requested by these pupils to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā which steeps the whole creation in nescience, Nārada spoke about Kṛṣṇa, who is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and of whom he had heard from Kumāra.[43]

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[40] Ādi-p. 1. 8-13.

[41] Speaking of the bad effects of the Kali age the Ādi-p. says that people will become non-believers and look upon the Śālagrāma as a piece of stone meant for measurement of weight, and that one's wife's brothers will be one's best advisers (Ādi-p. 3. 7 and 19).

[42] sanatkumāroktam idaṃ purāṇaṃ yato na kiṃcit param asti pūrvam/
mayā śrutaṃ nāradato badaryāṃ śraddhālunā cādipurāṇa-saṃjñam'//.
Ādi-p. 5. 2.

[43] Ādi-p. 5. 3-13.

Thus the topics of the present Ādi-p. have been introduced in the printed edition. The Mss of the Ādi-p., on the other hand, make no mention of Sūta or Vyāsa but simply say that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Naimiṣāraṇya in order to see Śaunaka and others and had a warm reception from the sages living there. It was at their request to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā that Nārada narrated the contents of the present Ādi-p.

That the present beginning of the printed edition is due to a change made at a later date by the addition of its first four chapters, is shown not only by Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Ādi-p. but also by the mention of Nārada and Śaunaka as interlocutors in the colophons of all the chapters from chap. 5 of the printed edition. It is to be noted that in chap. 5 of the printed edition Nārada speaks to Vyāsa and his pupils, and not Śaunaka.

Though the beginning of the printed Ādi-p. is different from those of the Mss, it deals, like chaps. 1-25 of the latter, mainly with the story of Kṛṣṇa—the legendary account of the birth of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Baladeva, Vasudeva's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa and his removing of the new-born child to Nanda's house, the merry-makings in Nanda's house on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birth, the ceremony of naming Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as performed by Garga, and the incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy, viz., his killing of the demoness Putanā and of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, his breaking of a cart, his childish sports with his foster-mother Yaśodā as well as with other cowherdesses (such as those of his stealing milk, curd and butter and sharing these with his associates, his breaking of utensils, his escape on more occasions than one from the midst of cowherdesses who tried to capture him, his passing the night with all the gopikās separately in their respective houses, and so on), his defeat in a wrestling competition with Baladeva, and his breaking of a pair of Arjuna trees when he was tied by Yaśodā to a mortar.

In connection with this story, the following topics have been dealt with in the printed editions:—The benefits of worshipping Kṛṣṇa by forsaking all contact with women; characteristics of the devotees of Hari; description and praise of Mathurā-maṇḍala, in which Vṛndāvana is situated; praise of Vṛndāvana, which is called the most favourite place and the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa and in which Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits are always to be experienced through love and devotion; characteristics of a love-messenger (dūtī); description of the Kali age; a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa; and Yaśodā's seeing the universe in Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

In order to glorify Kṛṣṇa, a few subsidiary stories have been introduced; viz., Nārada's meeting with Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa and the latter's narration of the story of ten sages who meditated on Kṛṣṇa (the delighter of gopikās—gopikā-ramaṇa) of Vṛndāvana in order to experience his sports; Nārada's bath in the Mānasa lake, his consequent attainment of an extremely beautiful female form, and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's allaying the jealous anger of Rādhā as well as of his Rāsa-līlā and other sports at Vṛndāvana with the gopīs, especially with Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu; Nārada's attainment of a male body by bathing in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, which is 'nitya' (permanent) and in which Kṛṣṇa tends cattle with his friends and associates and is received in the evening by his foster-mother and other cowherdesses; Viṣṇu's narration to Brahmā of the story of his taking the form of a bee and describing the love-sport (prema-līlā) of the love-smitten (śṛṅgāra-rasa-vihvala-mānasa) Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with innumerable gopīs who are called the images of his own image (viz., Rādhā)[44], with the mention of the lineage of Nanda and Rādhā[45] as well as the names of the eight principal female friends of Rādhā, the principal gopīs[46] who attend upon Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's associates (including Rādhā's four brothers named Vṛṣavṛdhnu, Manaḥsaukhya, Stokakṛṣṇa and Sudāman) who play and tend cattle with him and never grow old or die; rebirth of Cārumatī, daughter of the sage

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[44] Ādi-p. 10. 35-36 (...svabimbapratibimbena krīḍate vipine 'niśam).

[45] Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, is said to be the youngest son of Citrasena, who, again, was the youngest son of Kālamedu, the great-grandson of Ābbīrabhānu, the lord of *gopas*, of Mahāvana. Rādhikā was born of Mānavī by Vṛṣabhānu, the great-grandson of Āsiṣeṇa (Ārṣṭiṣeṇa?), the Mahāgopa, of the village Ārṣṭigrāma. (See Ādi-p., chap. 12).

[46] The long list of the names of these principal gopīs includes the following:—Mālatī, Madālasā, Citrā, Vetravatī, Kalāvatī, Sunandā, Viśākhā, Sārikā, Mādhavī, Candrāvalī, Bhadrāvalī, Campāvatī, Tilottamā, Alayā and Tārāvalī.

Kālabhīru, as the demoness Putanā due to the curse of her husband Kakṣīvat, who was offended with Cārumatī on account of her illicit connection with a Śūdra; rebirth, in the form of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, of the Bhāgavata king Viśvaratha of Drāviḍa who gave trouble, under suspicion of thieving, to a Brahmin Vaiṣṇava who was returning at night after attending a 'kīrtana;' and so on.

In Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Ādi-p., the story of Kṛṣṇa further continues up to the killing of Kaṃsa at Mathurā and includes the following incidents:—Kṛṣṇa's killing of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura, Aghāsura, Dhenuka, Pralamba and others, and his chastisement of the serpent Kālīya; Brahmā's experience of Viṣṇu-māyā; Kṛṣṇa's uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, and his Rāsa-krīḍā; and so on. In these Mss there are also chapters on the praise of gopīs, the different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās (including a section on 'svakīya-bheda-varṇana'), the glory of the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāma-māhātmya), the description of the seasons Vasanta, Grīṣma, Śarat and Hemanta, and so on. There are also a few subsidiary stories such as that of the previous birth of the demon Dhenuka.

From the contents of the present Ādi-p. indicated above, it is clear that this Purāṇa is solely dedicated to the promulgation of faith in Kṛṣṇa, who, unlike the other gods, is kind to both friends and foes. In this work Kṛṣṇa is regarded not only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but as the Bhagavat himself[47] and the eternal Brahma. He is the individual and the Supreme Soul,[48] and is both one and many. Though, in his supreme state, he is formless and has no beginning or end, he manifests himself in different forms through *guṇa*. Being 'rasākṛṣṭa,' he sports permanently, at Vṛndāvana with gopīs, especially with Rādhā who is called his Parā Vidyā, Parā Śakti, and Hlādinī Śakti[49] and who does not seem to be his wedded wife, but no male can experience these sports unless he turns a female.[50] Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, on the other hand, is said to be open to his male devotees. People are advised to devote themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa[51] and to look upon women as obstacles in the way of their spiritual development. They are to practise love and devotion in such a way that they should always be ready to do good to others and should not be affected in the least or try for a remedy, even if they are insulted, oppressed, beaten, or killed by others.[52] According to this Purāṇa, '*bhajana*' (i.e. kīrtana), based on *prema* and *bhakti*, is the best way of Kṛṣṇa-worship and is superior to *yoga*, *dāna* etc.; and all the members of the four castes without distinction of age or sex, as well as Antyajas, Pulkasas and Mlecchas are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.[53]

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[47] Ādi-p. 12. 13-163; and also 6.7, 9.58, and so on.

[48] Ibid., 17. 74.

[49] Ibid., 13. 57-58.

[50] Cf. Ibid., 13. 52-53—
nāvalokayituṃ śaktaḥ puṃstvena puruṣarṣabha/
atas tavādhikāro'sti strīrūpasya varānane//

The present Ādi-p., as its contents show, can never claim an early origin. None of the numerous verses, ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Śīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Narasiṃha Vājayeyin, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and many other Nibandha-writers in their respective works, is found in the printed Ādi-p. In the Haribhaktivilāsa (of Gopālabhaṭṭa),[54] Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta (of Sanātana Gosvāmin)[55] and a few other works of the later Vaiṣṇava writers of Bengal a number of verses has been quoted from an 'Ādi-p.', and in these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the name and devotees of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). Although some of these verses have been ascribed by Gopālabhaṭṭa definitely to a 'Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāda in the Ādi-purāṇa' (ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde) and a number of them occurs in the manuscripts of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya[56] consisting of a 'Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāda' and claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., we are not sure that the Ādi-p., of which this Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claims to be a part, is the same as that found in the printed editions and the Mss mentioned above. On the other hand, Mitra Miśra, though not quoting any verses from the present Ādi-p., must have been quite familiar with this work; because, after giving two lists of Upapurāṇas from the 'Kūrma-p.' and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.', Mitra Miśra quotes Matsya-p. 53. 59b-63 in support of the view that the Upapurāṇas originated from the major 'Purāṇas', and then exemplifies this view by naming the Nandikeśvara-p., Ādi-p. and Devī-p., which, he says, were recognised as Upapurāṇas by great men (mahājana-parigṛhītāni) and of which the first and the third are not mentioned in any of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Mitra Miśra. Hence it is

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[51] Ādi. 26. 38ff.

[52] Ādi-p. 8. 16-18—

kṣiptāvamānitā dhvastās tāḍitāḥ pīḍitā api/
na vikriyā prabhavati pratīkāraṃ na kurvate//
hitaṃ kurvanti sarveṣāṃ karuṇā dīna-vatsalāḥ/
titīkṣavo'lpavāco hi mahānto loka-pāvanāḥ/
te priyāḥ śrīharer bhaktāḥ prema-mādhvīka-makṣikāḥ//

[53] Ādi-p. 28. 52—

sarve'dhikāriṇo varṇā āśramāḥ śiśavaḥ striyaḥ/
antyajāḥ pulkasā mlecchā ye cānye pāpa-yonayaḥ//

[54] On p. 524 of his Haribhaktivilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from an Ādi-p. nine verses on the praise of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and on pp. 612, 634, 678 and 683 he quotes from the same source thirteen more verses on Kṛṣṇa-nāma-māhātmya. In quoting some of these verses he uses the words 'ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇ-ārjuna-saṃvāde'. But none of these verses occurs in the chapter (viz., chap. 45) on 'nāma-māhātmya' contained in the Mss of the Ādi-p. described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85, Nos. 3335-36, and by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9, Nos. 4072-73.

[55] The Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta quotes from the 'Ādi-p'. nine verses in which

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Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the votaries of Kṛṣṇa, of the devoted gopikās, and of Vṛndāvana, and one of which is the same as a verse quoted from the Ādi-p. in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524.

The Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta, which consists of two Khaṇḍas—Pūrva and Uttara named as Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta respectively, must be the same as the 'Bhāgavatāmṛta' which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja ascribes to Sanātana and from which he learnt 'bhakti-tattva' and 'kṛṣṇa-tattva'. See Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya-caritāmṛta, III, p. 111—sanātana kaila grantha bhāgavatāmṛte/ bhakti-tattva kṛṣṇa-tattva jāni yāhā haite//). But in the introduction to their edition of the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami say that this work was written by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

[56] For the verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524, p. 612, p. 634, p. 678, and p. 683 see Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya (ASB Ms No. 3355), fols. 2a (lines 2, 4, 8-9), 2b, etc., fol. 5a (lines 3-4), fol. 4a (lines 1-3), fols. 6a (line 9), 6b (lines 3, 6), fols. 2b (line 4), 4a (lines 2, 1, 7-9), 6a (lines 7-8) and 5a (line 8).

The verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta, pp. 177, 182-3 and 184 do not occur in the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya.

sure that the 'Ādi-p.' also (which Mitra Miśra recognised as an Upapurāṇa, because it was recognised as such by great men) must be different from the first Upapurāṇa which is mentioned in the lists with the words 'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktam,' and 'ādyaṃ sanatkumāraṃ ca' respectively. A comparison between the printed Ādi-p. and the present Brahmavaivarta-p. shows that the story of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the latter work, is decidedly of a later date. On the other hand, the present Ādi-p. holds the Tulasī plant in high esteem and seems to have known the tyranny of the Muhammadans in India.[57] Hence *this Purāṇa should be dated between 1203 and 1525 A. D.*

Though a late work, the printed Ādi-p. does not attach itself as a part to any Mahāpurāṇa, but claims to be the same as the earlier Ādi-p. which was spoken out by Sanatkumāra. It is needless to say that this claim is wholly untenable. Even the verse, in which this claim has been put forth by the printed editions, occurs in Shastri and Eggeling's Mss in a quite different form[58] without any mention of Sanatkumāra or of the earlier Ādi-p.

In the present Ādi-p. there is mention of the use of bracelets of conch-shell by women,[59] of a proverb in the line 'ādau ca sakhi hṛtvā gāṃ vinayo na virājate',[60] of the word 'gālī' used in the sense of 'reproach' on several occasions,[61] of marking a child on the forehead with collyrium for saving it from the harmful effect of others' sight, and of tying a tiger-nail and a hymn of Rāma to a child's neck for saving it from the influence of evil spirits.[62] These, as well as the fact that some of the ideas and practices[63] of Caitanya of Navadvīpa and tenets of Caitanyaism are found mentioned in the present Ādi-p., tend to create the impression that this Purāṇa, like the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya of the Varāha-p., was written in Bengal by a disciple of Caitanya; but we have already seen that the Haribhaktivilāsa and the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta quote verses from a part claiming to belong to an 'Ādi-p.' which cannot be said definitely to be different from the present Ādi.

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[57] Ādi-p. 14. 139-140—

asurā yavanāṃśeṣu jātā lokopatāpinaḥ/
anīti-niratāḥ sarve saṃgrahe ca prabuddhayaḥ//
palāyamānās teṣāṃ hi prajāḥ syur api pīḍitāḥ/
prāpur deśāntaraṃ cāpi kvacin na sukhitābhavan//

[58] Viz., idaṃ purāṇaṃ paramādibhūtaṃ yato na kiṃcit param asti pūrvam/
śrīnāradenābhihitaṃ tu naimiṣe śraddhālave bhārgava-śaunakāya//
(see Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1184).

[59] Ādi-p. 26. 3 and 5.

[60] Ādi-p. 14. 14.

[61] Ādi-p. 16. 17; 25. 33 and 57.

[62] Cf. Ādi-p. 18. 130—

dṛṣṭi-doṣa-nivārāya bhāle kajjalakaṃ kuru/
kaṇṭhe vyāghra-nakhaṃ caiva rāma-nāmāṅkitaṃ stavam//

(II). Quite different from our present Ādi-p. was the earlier Ādya- or Ādi-p. which is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas[64] and in which Sanatkumāra was the speaker. It seems that Sanatkumāra reported to a king, most probably to Yudhiṣṭhira,[65] what he had heard from Vyāsa.[66] That the earlier Ādya-p. and Ādi-p. were identical, is shown by the following facts: (1) the Bṛhaddharma-p. (1. 25. 23) names the first Upapurāṇa as 'Ādi-p.';[67] (2) while enumerating the works used in writing his Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara Vallālasena names an 'Ādya Purāṇa',[68] but when this Purāṇa is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as 'Ādi-p.'; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in some Mss and to the 'Ādya-p.' in others;[69] (4) in some of the long citations from the 'Ādi-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Sanatkumāra appears as the speaker;[70] and (5) in their commentaries on Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and Rādhāramaṇa

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[63] See Ādi-p. 8. 16-18 and 19-23; 10. 35-36; and so on.

[64] For these lists see Chap. I.

[65] In a verse of the 'Ādi-p.' quoted in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, pp. 326-7 the speaker addresses the hearer as 'Bhārata', and in the verses ascribed to the same Purāṇa in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, V, pp. 194-201 the hearer is addressed as 'rājendra', 'mahārāja', 'Kuru-nandana' and 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. See also Śūlapāṇi's Śrāddha-viveka. p. 137 (ādi purāṇe—yeyaṃ dīpānvitā rājan etc.).

[66] In Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 40 and Hāralatā, p. 117, verses have been quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' with the words 'ādipurāṇe vyāsaḥ'.

[67] ādāv ādipurāṇaṃ syād ādityākhyaṃ dvitīyakam.

[68] See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 13), and Adbhutasāgara, p. 2.

[69] See, for instance, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 870.

[70] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 518 and 763-8.

Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya take the 'Ādya Sanatkumārokta' (Purāṇa), mentioned in a list of Upapurāṇas derived by Raghunandana from the 'Kaurma', to mean the 'Ādi-p.'[71] This Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa was also called 'Sanatkumāra'[72], 'Sānatkumāra'[73] and 'Sanatkumārīya'[74] and also perhaps 'Sanatkumārokta'[75] or 'Sanatkumāra-prokta'[76] from the name of its chief interlocutor.

The earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas, so much so that it is assigned the first place in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in that list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' which Alberūnī committed to writing from dictation.[77] Alberūnī's list (which consists partly of Mahāpurāṇas and partly of Upapurāṇas, viz., Ādi, Narasiṃha, Nanda, Āditya etc.) shows that by the end of the tenth century A. D. the Ādi-p. not only attained the position of being included in the list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' but also became prominent enough to be named first of all. Hence the Ādi-p. must have preceded Alberūnī by a fairly long time. The Vāyu-p. (chap. 104) mentions an 'Ādika-p.' in a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the Brahma-p. (which also is sometimes called Ādi-p.); Gaṅgādhara, in his commentary on the Dharma-saṃhitā, quotes from 'Padma-purāṇa, chapter 19' a metrical line which includes the Śaiva, Ādi-p. and Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas;[78] and the present Saura-p. is said in its chap. 9 as well as in the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya to have formed the latter part of a complete work, of which the former part was declared by Sanatkumāra[79] and which was, according to the Revā-kh. and the Revā-māhātmya, also widely known under the title 'Sanatkumāra'.[80] These, as well as the first position of the Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas, point to a still earlier origin of this Purāṇa. Hence this *Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa must be dated earlier than 700 A. D.* As in some of the verses quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. there is mention of the law-giver Manu, as well as of the names of rāśis and week-days,[81] *this Purāṇa should not be placed before 500 A. D. It is probable that this work was written during the sixth century A. D.* This early origin of the Ādi-p. is supported by its non-Tantric character which is unmistakably indicated by the quotations made from it in the different Smṛti Nibandhas on *vrata*, *pūjā*, *dāna*, etc.

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[71] Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—sanatkumāroktam ādipurāṇam (Kāśīrāma Vācaspati); ādyam ādi-purāṇam (Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya).

[72] See Dbh I. 3. 13, and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' as quoted in the Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14, wherein the first (prathama, ādya) Upapurāṇa is called Sanatkumāra. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas the first Upapurāṇa is the 'Ādya declared by Sanatkumāra'.

A 'Sanatkumāropapurāṇa' is drawn upon in the Śivārcana-dīpikā which is later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 866, No. 2853).

[73] See Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara (Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

[74] See Nityācārapradīpa, I, p. 19, wherein Narasiṃha Vājapeyin gives a list of eighteen Upapurāṇas on the basis of that contained in the Kūrma-p. but names the first Upapurāṇa as 'Sanatkumārīya', and not as 'Ādya' like the Kūrma-p. See Chap. I (p. 4) above.

[75] See the lists of Upapurāṇas (as given in Chap. I), in most of which the first Upapurāṇa is mentioned with the words 'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktam'. See also foot-note 72 above.

[76] A good number of verses on Ekādaśī is ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 773 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 993-995, 998, 999 and 1001-2 and III. ii, pp. 149, 160, 178, 181 and 184.

[77] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130.

As not even a single Ms of the earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa has been found up to the present time, we shall try to give here some idea of its Smṛti contents on the basis of the verses quoted from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. An examination of these verses shows that this Purāṇa dealt, among other topics, with the following :—

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[78] 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca devībhāgavataṃ tathā'.—Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 289.

[79-80] See under Saura-p. in Vol. III of the present work.

[81] See the verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, II. ii, p. 321, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 844, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 287, Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 9, and so on. See also the verse ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 998.

Manu is mentioned in a verse quoted in Madana-pārijāta, p. 456.

Selection of countries which are habitable to the members of the four castes; good customs and usages; marriage; cremation; funeral ceremony; periods of impurity due to miscarriage, births and deaths; methods of purification; donations; Vratas; and omina and portenta.

In his Smṛti-candrikā, I, pp. 18-23 Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes from the earlier Ādi-p. fifteen verses on the selection of a habitable tract of land. These verses show that this Purāṇa spoke of two kinds of countries,—dharma-deśa and adharma-deśa. The former was distinguished by the presence of antelopes, barley and Kuśa grass as well as of the four castes and orders of life and was to be resorted to by the wise, while the latter was to be shunned by them, because the twice-born could derive no benefit even by performing hundreds of sacrifices there; but the tract of land which lay along the banks of the Ganges was the most sacred of all. A person born in Āryāvarta, no matter whether he was a twice-born man or not, was not allowed to go beyond the rivers Narmadā (in the south), Sindhu (in the north and west) and Karatoyā (in the east).[82] Any twice-born man, who crossed the boundary of Āryāvarta for reasons other than visiting the holy places, was to purify himself by observing the Cāndrāyaṇa-vrata. The people of Kāñcī, Kośala, Saurāṣṭra and Devarāṣṭra, of the two countries known by the name Kaccha,[83] and of Sauvīra and Koṅkaṇa were very much condemned (ninditā bhṛśam); and an Ārya was advised not to reside permanently in those tracts of land which were watered by the 'five rivers' and were known by the name Āraṭṭa. People, who went beyond the Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāśī[84] and to the western side of

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[82] āryāvarte samutpanno dvijo vā yadi vādvijaḥ/
narmadāṃ sindhu-pāraṃ ca karatoyāṃ na laṅghayet//
āryāvartam atikramya vinā tīrtha-kriyāṃ dvijaḥ/
ājñāṃ caiva tathā pitror aindavena viśudhyati//
(ascribed to 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 20).

The Karatoyā is a river in Northern Bengal and flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

[83] These were most probably Marukaccha (modern Cutch) and Kauśikī-kaccha (the district of Purnea).

[84] The text of the 'Ādi-p.', as given by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 22, reads 'narmadā-sindhu-kāśīnāṃ pāraṃ padmasya paścimam', Though we know that 'Kāśī' was the name of the country, of which Benares was

Padma (? pāram padmasya paścimam) and lived there for a period longer than that required for visiting the holy places, were sure to visit the hells after death. No marriage or funeral ceremony, nor any sacrifice was to be performed in Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vindhya and Mālavaka, in the countries lying on the south of the Narmadā, as well as in those on the north of the Sindhu, and in Pauṇḍra, Surāṣṭra, Caidya, Kerala and Magadha. If a twice-born man chanced to go, out of his own accord and not for visiting holy places, to Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Āvantya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kaliṅga or other bordering countries, he was excommunicated and was to be purified by sacraments. These and other impious countries (pāpa-deśāh) were inhabited by impious people; so, a twice-born man, who went to these countries, became equally impious.

Going to deal with good customs and usages which were to be followed by the people, this Purāṇa said that the people of the Kali age, being given to sinful acts, were not fit for practising that *dharma* (law and custom) which was meant for the people of the Kṛta age. Hence a twice-born man of the Kali age was to avoid the following: — Practice of celibacy (as a student) for a long period, carrying a kamaṇḍalu (as a forest-hermit or as a wandering mendicant), slaughter of cows (in sacrifices), performance of human and horse sacrifices, drinking of wine, sexual union with his own brother's wife, division of paternal property by allotting the largest share to the eldest son, and marriage with a girl belonging to the same *gotra* as that of himself or having sapiṇḍa relationship with his mother or married to another person before.[85] He was to take his meal after his dependants, who consisted

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the capital, it seems that the original reading for '°kāśīnāṃ' was '°kośīnāṃ'. The river Kośī or Kauśiki formed the western boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana. Cf. the verse 'himavat-kauśikaṃ vindhyaṃ pāraṃ padmasya paścimam/ tīrtha-yātrāṃ vinā gatvā punaḥ saṃskāram arhati//'quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 23.

[85] For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Smṛti-candrikā, I, pp. 29 and 221. The verse 'ūḍhāyāḥ punar udvāhaṃ jyeṣṭhāṃśaṃ govadhaṃ tathā/ kalau pañca na kurvīta bhrātṛ-jāyāṃ kamaṇḍalum//' is ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221 but to the 'Āditya-p.' in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 91.

of the poor blood-relations on his father's and mother's side and of other helpless persons living under his care. In taking his meal he was to observe certain rules,[86] viz., he was not to take his meal by sitting or lying on his bed, or from a different seat, or in the morning, midday or evening, or with wet clothes on, or with the wet head, or without the sacred thread, or with his feet placed on a machine (*yantra*), or with his wife, or in a deserted house, a temple or a fire-sanctuary. A Brahmin might take his meal with his Brahmin wife on his way (to a distant place), but if he took his meal with his wife of a lower caste, he was degraded from his caste.[87] If, at a dinner party, any of the persons rinsed his mouth without leaving his seat, others were to leave their meals at once and wash their hands and mouths. A Brahmin was advised not to take his meal by taking his seat in the same line with other Brahmins or even with his own relatives, because he could not be sure that the latter were not guilty of pātakas.

As regards marriage,[88] it has already been said that the earlier Ādi-p. disallowed the remarriage of a girl, no matter whether she was a widow or not. A person, who had such a girl as his wife, was always considered impure. This Purāṇa was of opinion that the father, who allowed his daughter to be married according to the Gāndharva form or who married his daughter to a suitable bridegroom by accepting money from the latter, attained the region of the Gandharvas after death.[89]

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[86] For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Smṛti-candrikā, II, pp. 617-618, and Madana-pārijāta, p. 333.

[87] brāhmaṇyā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ kvacid bhuñjita vādhvani/
adho-varṇa-striyā sārdhaṃ bhuktvā patati tatkṣaṇāt//

This verse is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti-candrikā, II, pp. 617-8, but to the Āditya-p. in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 425.

[88] For the verses of the Ādi-p. on marriage see Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221, Hāralatā, p. 15, and Dāna-kaumudī, p. 80.

[89] gāndharveṇa vivāhena yas tu kanyāṃ prayacchati/
gandharva-lokaṃ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate naraḥ//
śulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṃ varāya sadṛśāya ca/
kiṃnaraiḥ saha gīyeta gāndharvaṃ lokam eti ca//

These two verses are ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Dāna-kaumudi, p. 80, but to the Āditya-p. in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 575.

A large number of verses on cremation of a dead body has been quoted in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa's Hāralatā, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā (Part V), Govindānanda's Śuddhi-kaumudī, and Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva. These verses state that when a twice-born man was on the point of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying. He was then bathed, dressed with a sacred piece of cloth, and laid down on the ground with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was thus laid, was already strewn over with Kuśa grass. When he breathed his last, his body was bathed, dressed with a piece of cloth, adorned with flowers, garlands etc., scented with perfumes, and furnished with a piece of bell-metal, gold, gem or coral placed in its mouth. It was then taken out of the house by its eastern, northern or western gate according as the deceased person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, and carried by the deceased person's relatives or other twice-born people to the burning ground, which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. But if there was no water or snow near the burning ground, the persons accompanying the dead body were to talk about water or call out 'Snow, snow'. While the dead body was carried to the burning ground, a great noise was produced by means of four kinds of musical instruments.[90] At the burning ground the dead body was laid down with care, bathed, covered with a piece of cloth, and placed on a funeral pile by the deceased person's blood-relations on his father's side or by his kinsmen or other relatives, with its feet turned towards the south.[91] In the case of a male, the dead body was placed on the funeral pile with its face turned downwards, but in the case of a female, it was placed on its back. It was then set on fire by the proper person. When the dead body was mostly consumed by fire and only a small portion of it remained unburnt, the person, who set fire to it, took in his hand seven pieces of fuel of prescribed lengths, went seven times round the fire by keeping it to his right, and threw those pieces of fuel, one by one, into the fire after each complete circumambulation. He, as well as each of his companions, then gave with an axe seven strokes on the burning fuel by pronouncing the *mantra* 'kravyādāya namas tubhyaṃ etc.' After that, all of them went to the adjoining river without looking to the funeral pyre, took their bath there, and offered libations of water to the departed soul by facing the south. They then returned to the village and waited outside the house until the person who set fire to the dead body went to a neighbouring pool with a club in his hand,[92] took his bath, brought water in an earthen pot, cooked rice with it in the north-eastern side of the house, and offered balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the departed soul at the gate of the house. The person, who thus offered piṇḍas (balls of rice) to the deceased person on the first day of his death, was to offer these in the same way during the remaining nine days also.

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[90] śmaśāna-bhūmiṃ netavyaḥ ... ...//
... .../
caturvidhena vādyena kuryuḥ kolāhalaṃ mahat//
Hāralatā, p. 125 and Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 110.

[91] This method of placing a dead body on the funeral pile was followed by Brahmins other than the followers of the Sāma-veda.

The Sāma-vedī Brahmins placed the dead body with its head turned towards the south.

If an āhitāgni twice-born man went abroad after leaving his wife in charge of his fire and died there, his body was preserved until it was brought home and cremated with his own fire. If his body was not available, his bones were brought home, soaked with ghee, covered with wool, and burnt in the above-mentioned manner along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of Śara (reed) and Palāśa, covered with an antelope-skin, tied with a thread of wool, besmeared with finely powdered barley mixed with water, and burnt. If a person, whose effigy was thus burnt by his relatives by taking him to be dead, returned home, he was to kindle the sacred fire afresh and a sacrifice was to be performed for giving him a long life. If a piece of bone was received after his effigy had been burnt, it was burnt with the fire produced by means of those half-burnt pieces of fuel which remained after the burning of the effigy. If no such fuel was available, the piece of bone was thrown into deep water. If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, one died before the other, the body of the former was burnt with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika, while that of the latter was cremated with the Laukika fire only.[93]

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[92] The text of the Ādi-p. is as follows:

> mṛṇmayaṃ bhāṇḍam ādāya navaṃ snātaḥ susaṃyataḥ/
> lagudaṃ sarva-doṣaghnaṃ gṛhītvā toyam ānayet//

(See Hāralatā, p. 164, Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 128, and Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 321). But Aniruddhabhaṭṭa explains the second line thus:

> laguḍaṃ gṛhītveti agragāmi-puruṣāntara-hastena laguḍaṃ gṛhītvetyarthaḥ/ 'toyārthaṃ tu tato gacched gṛhītvā puruṣaṃ puraḥ/ gṛhīta-laguḍaṃ yatnāt sarva-duṣṭa-nivāraṇam//' iti govindarāja-likhita-vṛddhapraceto-vacanāt/ tena laguḍa-hastaṃ puruṣam agre kṛtvā piṇḍārthaṃ mṛṇmaya-bhāṇḍena jalam ānetavyam/ (Hāralatā, p. 166).

So, according to Aniruddhabhaṭṭa the club was borne not by the person who was to fetch water from a neighbouring pool for offering piṇḍas to the departed soul but by another member of the party who was to lead the former to the pool.

The bones of a dead person were collected from the burning ground generally on the fourth, fifth or sixth day according as this person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. According to local customs, his bones could be collected earlier by a day. But if the period of impurity consisted only of three days, the bones could be collected on the second day; and in case of impurity ending immediately (sadyaḥ-śauca), the collection could be made just after the burning of the dead body. During this rite of collection of bones (asthi-saṃcayana) Śaṃkara and the carnivorous deities residing in the burning ground were worshipped in the prescribed manner[94] with the offer of various kinds of food, drinks, fruits, scents, flowers etc. The bones of the head were then taken by means of pieces of branches of a sacrificial tree, sprinkled with the five products of a cow (pañca-gavya), covered with a piece of silk-cloth, placed in an earthen vessel furnished with a lid, and buried at a sacred place in a forest or at the root of a tree. In opportune times these bones were taken out, placed in a lump of earth together with a piece of gold as well as with honey, ghee and sesamum, and thrown into the Ganges by the deceased person's descendants or by his relations on his father's or mother's side.

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[93] āhitāgnyoś ca dampatyor yas tvādau mriyate bhuvi/
tasya dehaḥ sapiṇḍaiś ca dagdhavyas tribhir agnibhiḥ/
paścān mṛtasya dehas tu dagdhavyo laukikāgninā//
(Ādi-p. quoted in Hāralatā, p. 142).

These lines have been explained by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa as follows:

If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, the husband died before his wife, his body was cremated with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika; and the wife, who died after her husband, was burnt with the Laukika fire only. But if the wife died before her husband, she was burnt with the three kinds of fire, and the husband was to kindle the sacred fire afresh. If he did so, he was burnt with the three kinds of fire after his death. But if he died before kindling the sacred fire afresh, his body was cremated with the Laukika fire only. (See Hāralatā, pp. 143-4).

In case of death of a child aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by its relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands etc., placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village.

In the case of a dying Śūdra, removal from the house was not compulsory even when he was breathing his last. But when, after his death, the dead body was taken out, all the earthen wares of the house in which he died were thrown away. The dead body of a Śūdra was to be removed to the burning ground through the southern gate of the house. As Śūdras had no Śrauta fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case. No Brahmin was allowed to burn a Śūdra, even if the latter was his friend, and if he did so through mistake, he was to purify himself by taking his bath, touching fire, drinking ghee, and observing fast for three consecutive nights. The rite of collection of bones of a Śūdra was to be performed after the tenth day. It might also be performed on the tenth day, if local customs demanded so.

Regarding the methods of disposing of the dead body as prevailing among the Magas and Daradas of those days, there are a few lines quoted in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's Hāralatā. These lines inform us that the Magas buried their corpses underground. The Daradas, on the other hand, kept their dead bodies suspended from the branches of such trees as stood far away from human habitations and were leafy enough to protect these dead bodies from rain. After the expiry of a complete year these dried up corpses were brought down from those trees, bathed with the waters of the Ganges, and burnt.[95]

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[94] For the method of worship see the verses of the Ādi-p. quoted in Hāralatā, pp. 186ff. and Śuddhi-kaumudī, pp. 145-6.

A large number of verses of the earlier Ādi-p. is found quoted in the Nibandhas in connection with the determination of the period of impurity to be observed by the deceased person's relatives and others. The periods of impurity were determined by various factors such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their motive in cremating a dead body, the caste, age, sex or character of the deceased person, the nature of death, the nature of help the person to be deemed impure rendered in cremating the dead body, acceptance of remuneration for carrying the dead body or cremating it, and so on. Even if a Brahmin, who was not a relative of a deceased Brahmin, lamented with the latter's relatives before the rite of collection of bones had been performed, he was to take his bath and sip water after the performance of the rite; if he did so for a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, he was to bathe with all his garments on and became pure on the second day; but by lamenting for a Śūdra, he was to bathe with his clothes on and remain impure for three days. Lamentation for a deceased person after the collection of his bones caused impurity to a Brahmin for a day and a night. In the case of the members of other castes, lamentation necessitated bath with all the garments on, if this lamentation was made before the collection of bones, but if it was made after the collection, they required simple bath for attaining purity.[96]

Impurity was also caused to certain relatives by births and miscarriage, and its period varied under different conditions. A man, who had as his wife a woman previously married to another person, was always deemed impure.[97]

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[95] See Hāralatā, p. 126—

magā bhūmau nikhanyante daradāś ca mṛtān sadā/
āsadya vṛkṣe gacchanti luptrakāś ca svabāndhavam//
ghana-cchāye sugupte tu tiro varṣāṇi varṣati/
tataḥ saṃvatsare pūrṇe sarva-saṃbhāra-saṃbhṛtāḥ//
śuṣkaṃ taṃ jāhnavī-toye prakṣipya pradahanti ca//

[96] For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Hāralatā, p. 91 and pp. 63-64.

The numerous verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in the Smṛti Nibandhas in connection with śrāddha show that this Purāṇa dealt elaborately with the various points connected with this topic, viz., persons eligible for performing it under different circumstances, the method of its performance, the method of offering piṇḍas, the number of Brahmins to be fed on this occasion, the proper day for performing the śrāddha ceremony of those who committed suicide by starting on a long journey, or fasting, or hanging, or by means of a weapon, fire or poison, enumeration of persons who deserved no śrāddha ceremony (viz., those who were killed by others while abducting the latter's wives or were killed in a fight with the Cāṇḍālas or such other people, or administered poison, or set fire to others' houses, or were Pāṣaṇḍas, or committed suicide out of anger, and so on), the method of performing the śrāddha ceremony at Gayā, and similar other matters. A Brahmin was forbidden to perform the śrāddha ceremony of persons of lower castes, even if the latter were his own sons. If he did so out of passion, greed, fear or affection, he was degraded to the caste of that person whose śrāddha ceremony he performed. Sons, born of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra mothers, were advised to perform the śrāddha ceremony of their deceased Brahmin father. In case of death of these sons, their own mothers were to perform their śrāddha ceremony, and *vice versa.*

Though the verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in connection with donations are not many,[98] this Purāṇa was certainly not very poor in this topic. In his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that various kinds of donations were dealt with in the Ādi-p. according to their subdivisions (or, in accordance with the divisions of the year in which these were to be made?), and that in his Dānasāgara he quoted from this Purāṇa only a few verses on donations because he fully utilised its sections on dāna in his Ācārasāgara.[99]

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[97] anyapūrvā yasya gehe bhāryā syāt tasya nityaśaḥ/
aśaucaṃ sarva-kāryeṣu dehe bhavati sarvadā/
dānaṃ pratigrahaḥ snānaṃ sarvaṃ tasya bhaved vṛthā//
(see Hāralatā, p. 15).

[98] For the verses on donations see Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 297 (on Kapilā-dāna), Dānasāgara, pp. 276 and 280-286, Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40 (on bhūmi-dāna), and so on.

The earlier Ādi-p. contained chapters on Vratas and festivals also. In Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 47 two verses on Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī are quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, p. 518 Hemādri quotes nine metrical lines on Yugādi-vidhi (which required the gift of barley and the performance of *homa* and Viṣṇu-worship with it), and on pp. 763-8 he quotes 30 verses on pradīpa-vidhi. According to these last-mentioned verses the pradīpa-vidhi was observed for one month from Āśvina-paurṇamāsī to Kārttika-paurṇamāsī. At the end of this period, the Dīpa-mahotsava was performed for three days, during which lamps were lighted in the evening in the houses of the poor as well as in other places, viz., burning grounds, temples, banks of rivers, roads, *caityas* etc. Gifts of gold, silver, land, cows, paddy, fruits, beds etc. were also made to Brahmins on this occasion.

For the large number of verses on tīrthas (especially Gayā and Vṛddha-tīrtha) see Smṛti-candrikā, V, pp. 194-201. Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, pp. 307-8, and Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 878-9. The chapters on Gayā of the earlier Ādi-p. seem to have formed the basis of chaps. 105-112 (on Gayā-māhātmya) of the present Vāyu-p. in which Sanatkumāra speaks to Nārada on Gayā and which mentions an Ādika-p. in chap. 104 and has retained a few verses from the former.[100]

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[99] Dānasāgara, p. 6 (verse 56)—

śrutāny ādipurāṇe tu dānāny anuvibhāgataḥ/
ācārasāgaroktatvān na kīrtyante'tra kṛtsnaśaḥ//

(For 'anuvibhāgataḥ' the India Office Ms reads 'abda-vibhāgataḥ').

See also p. 3 (verses 12-14)—

... ... tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ//
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca//
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya-saṃjñaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca//

[100] For instance, Vāyu-p., chap. 110, verses 2-3 and chap. 111, verse 1 are the same as the verses ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti-candrikā, V, p. 194.

Ten verses on omens and portents have been ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Adbhutasāgara, pp. 546, 548, 550 and 552-6. Of these, one (in Adbhutasāgara, p. 546) is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in many of the Mss of the Adbhutasāgara. The remaining nine verses also might have been taken from the Aditya-p. At least the metrical similarity between these verses and those quoted from the Āditya-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara tends to create such an impression.

It should be mentioned here that a good number of verses of the Ādi-p. has been wrongly ascribed to the Āditya-p., or *vice versa*. For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 348-9 Hemādri ascribes to the 'Āditya-p.' an extract of 29 lines dealing with Sukha-supti-vrata[101] and Dyūta-pratipad and having Sanatkumāra as the speaker; the verse 'ṣaṇmāsābhyantaraṃ yāvat' is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 43 and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's com. on Manu-Smṛti V. 66, but to the Āditya-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 260; the verse 'vivāha-yajñayor madhye' is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 67 and Hāralatā, pp. 105-6, but to the Āditya-p. in Kālasāra, p. 272; and so on. On the other hand, the verse 'madhūkaṃ rāmaṭhaṃ caiva' is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Aparārka's com., p. 554, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 205, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 370, Śrāddha-kaumudī, p. 18, and Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 226, but to the Ādi-p. in Madana-pārijāta, p. 552 and Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 373; the verse 'api dātṛ-grahitroś ca' is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 105 and Kālasāra, pp. 255 and 271 but to the Ādi-p. in Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 68; and so on. Even in the same work a particular verse is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in some Mss and to the Āditya-p. in others.[102]

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[101] The component parts of this Vrata, which was to be observed on the Kārttikī Amāvāsyā, were the following:—Fast at day-time (in case the worshipper was not a child or an invalid); worship of Lakṣmī in the evening; illumination at temples, crossings of roads, burning grounds, pastures, etc.; decoration of market-places with light, clothes, flowers, etc.; feeding of Brahmins and the poor; dining with friends and relatives after wearing new clothes and ornaments; and so on. On the Kārttikī Śukla-pratipad the worshipper was to play at dice in the morning, dine with friends at noon, hear songs and musical concerts after wearing ornaments and using perfumes, decorate the bedroom with light, garlands etc., pass the night with beloved women, and in the morning honour Brahmins, friends and relatives with new clothes.

The earlier Ādi-p. must have been a Vaiṣṇava work. In a verse ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 512, all-pervading Viṣṇu is said to have made a rule, according to which the gods did not reside in their respective images under certain conditions;[103] Aparārka and Govindānanda quote from the Ādi-p. a verse which states that the donor of land of the measurement of even a *go-carma* becomes free from all his sins and attains the region of Viṣṇu.[104] Viṣṇu is mentioned on many occasions[105] and Viṣṇu-worship is prescribed in many of the quoted verses;[106] Śaṃkara is spoken of in a verse as a deity residing in the burning ground;[107] and so on.

3. THE KALKI-PURĀṆA[108]

This is one of the late Upapurāṇas. It claims to be a continuation of the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future events.[109] As a matter of fact, it describes the deeds of Viṣṇu to be performed at the close of the Kali-yuga, when he will be born as Kalki, son of Viṣṇuyaśas and Sumati of Śambhalagrāma. It is divided into three Aṃśas or parts, of which the first two consist of seven chapters each and the third of twenty-one chapters. The contents of these chapters are as follows.

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[102] See Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 23, Kālanirṇaya, p. 215, Kālasāra, pp. 361 and 541, Adbhutasāgara, p. 546, and Aparārka's com., p. 1225.

[103] khaṇḍite sphuṭite dagdhe bhraṣṭe sthāna-vivarjite/
yāgahīne paśu-spṛṣṭe patite duṣṭa-bhūmiṣu//
anya-mantrārcite caiva patita-sparśa-dūṣite/
daśasv eteṣu no cakruḥ saṃnidhānaṃ divaukasaḥ//
iti sarva-gato viṣṇuḥ paribhāṣāṃ cakāra ha/

[104] See Aparārka's com., p. 1225, and Dāna-kaumudi, p. 40.

[105] See Aparārka's com., p. 879 (yathā viṣṇur viśokāya tathā tīrtham anāmayam) and p. 879 (saṃkarṣaṇaṃ vapur viṣṇoś caṇḍāgni-bhavadāhakam).

[106] See Dānasāgara, p. 619 (ghṛtena snapituṃ viṣṇuṃ śaktyā saṃpūjayet tataḥ), and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, p. 518 (... ... ... yavair viṣṇuṃ samarcayet).

[107] Hāralatā, p. 186.

[108] Besides Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition which we have used in the following pages, there are many more editions, two of which are the following :—

(1) Jaganmohana Tarkālaṃkāra's edition published by Kedar Nath Banerjee, Calcutta 1873; and

(2) Pañcānana Tarkaratna's edition published with a Bengali translation by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1315 B. S.

Aṃśa I.

Chap. 1.—Salutation to Vighneśa, who is adored first of all in the Vedic, Tantric and other scriptures. Invocation of Kalki, who is Hari himself.

Śaunaka and others of Naimiṣāraṇya requested Sūta to speak on the origin and exploits of Kali. Consequently, Sūta referred to the tradition of inheritance of the Bhāgavata-dharma and narrated how he had heard that portion of the topics of the Bhāgavata-p. which Śuka had spoken out to Mārkaṇḍeya and others after the death of king Viṣṇurāta (Parīkṣit) and which was concerned with future events. He then spoke on the following topics:—

Brahmā's creation of Adharma from his back. Adharma's descendants. Birth of Kali in the family of Adharma. Description of Kali. Kali's descendants. Degradation of people during the reign of Kali. Gods' approach with the Earth to Brahmā for redress.

Chap. 2.—Brahmā's approach to Viṣṇu, and the latter's assurance that he would manifest himself in the house of Viṣṇuyaśas at Śambhala

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For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1188-89, No. 3338 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Aṃśas, all its chapters being numbered continuously).

(2) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 8-9, No. 11 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Aṃśas; chapters numbered continuously).

(3) Dacca University Mss Nos. 234 (complete; written in Bengali script) and 4090 (complete; written in Bengali script; dated Śaka 1726).

[109] See the chapter-colophons, which run as follows:—iti śrī-kalki-purāṇe anubhāgavate bhaviṣye................. In chap. 1 there are several indications of its claim to belong to the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future events.

and that Lakṣmī would be born as Padmā, daughter of king Bṛhadratha of Ceylon. Viṣṇu's request to the gods to be born on earth.

Viṣṇu's birth and assumption of a two-handed form. Naming of new-born Viṣṇu as Kalki. Kalki's determination to free the earth from the influence of Kali.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's study of the Vedas and the various sciences (including Dhanurveda) with Bhārgava Rāma. His worship and eulogy of Bilvodakeśvara-śiva, with the result that he received a horse, a Śuka bird and a sword from the latter. His return to Śaṃbhala-grāma, establishment of Varṇāśrama-dharma, and meeting with Viśākhayūpa, king of Māhiṣmatī.

Chap. 4.—Kalki's speech to king Viśākhayūpa on the origin of the universe from himself as well as on the characteristics of Brahmins (who should practise Varṇāśrama-dharma and have Tilaka marks).

Return of the Śuka bird from Siṃhala with the information that Padmāvatī, daughter of king Bṛhadratha, received a boon from Śiva that she would have Nārāyaṇa as her husband.

Chap. 5.—The Śuka's further statement that the kings who attended the 'svayaṃvara-sabhā' arranged by Bṛhadratha, turned females as soon as they looked amorously at Padmāvatī, and became her attendants.

Chap. 6.—The Śuka's return to Siṃhala at the request of Kalki and meeting with Padmāvatī, who told the bird everything about her ambition.

Chap. 7.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of worshipping Viṣṇu with the *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya'. Method of Viṣṇu-dhyāna.

Aṃśa II.

Chaps. 1-3.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of Viṣṇu-worship—continued.

The Śuka's return to Kalki, who then met Padmāvatī in Siṃhala and married her.

The transformed kings' regaining of malehood by bathing in the river Revā. Their eulogy of Viṣṇu by mentioning the names of his ten incarnations including the Buddha.

Chaps. 4-5.—Kalki's instructions to the kings on Varṇāśrama-dharma.

Appearance of sage Ananta before the kings at Kalki's wish. Ananta's description of his own experience of Viṣṇu-māyā at Puruṣottama; and his praise of Kalki as being capable of giving 'nirvāṇa'.

Chap. 6.—Kalki's return to Śambhala with Padmāvatī and living in a house built for him by Viśvakarman. Birth of two sons, named Jaya and Vijaya, to Kalki. Kalki's going to the city of Kīkaṭa with a huge army for chastising the Buddha; and his meeting with the 'Jina' who came out of the city with a large number of his followers.

Chap. 7.—Kalki's fight with the Bauddhas led by the 'Jina'. The Jina's defeat and death in the fight. The Bauddhas' futile attempt to defeat Kalki with the help of the Mlecchas.

Aṃśa III.

Chap. 1.—Kalki's victory over the Bauddhas and the Mlecchas, and his instructions on *bhakti-yoga*, *karma-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga* to the latter's wives, who were up in arms against him.

Chap. 2.—Kalki's return from Kīkaṭa and meeting with the Bālakhilya sages at Cakra-tīrtha. His going to the Himālaya at the request of these sages and killing of the demoness Kuthodarī and her son Vikañja.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's meeting, on the Himālaya, with kings Maru and Devāpi of the Solar and the Lunar race respectively. Maru's mention of the names of the descendants of Ikṣvāku down to Rāma.

Story of the birth and deeds of Rāma, son of Daśaratha.

Chap. 4.—Names of Rāma's descendants including Maru, who was also called Budha and Sumitra and who was waiting at Kalāpagrāma for Viṣṇu's incarnation at the close of the Kali age.

Devāpi's mention of the names of the kings of the Lunar race from Budha downwards. Kalki's determination to place Maru and Devāpi on the thrones of Ayodhyā and Hastināpura respectively after killing the Mlecchas and the Pukkasas of those places. His advice to these two kings to marry the daughters of Viśākhayūpa and Rucirāśva respectively and help him in re-establishing the Kṛta-yuga. His giving of two divine chariots to Maru and Devāpi.

Chap. 5.—Kṛta-yuga's arrival in the form of a *'maskarin'*. His account of the fourteen Manvantaras. Kalki's decision to fight with Kali in the city of Viśasana.

Chaps. 6-7.—Kalki's start with Maru, Devāpi and others in his train, and meeting with Dharma, who was driven out of Viśasana by Kali. His decisive war against Kali and his allies, viz., Khaśas, Kāmbojas, Śavaras, Varvaras, Cīnas, Pulindas, Colas, Niṣādas and others. Kali's defeat and escape to another *varṣa*. Kalki's killing of Koka and Vikoka.

Chaps. 8-13.—Kalki's arrival at Bhallāṭa-nagara which was ruled by a Vaiṣṇava king named Śaśidhvaja. Śaśidhvaja's conversation with his wife Suśāntā, in which he justified his decision for war by referring to the *dvaitādvaita* system of philosophy. Śaśidhvaja's fight with Kalki; and his capturing the latter in an unconscious state to his own house. Suśāntā's eulogy of Kalki. Śaśidhvaja's giving his daughter Ramā in marriage to Kalki. Story of Śaśidhvaja and his wife's previous birth as vultures. Method of Viṣṇu-worship. Discourses on Viṣṇu-bhakti. Śaśidhvaja's narration of the story of Dvivida, who attained liberation by being killed by Balarāma. Śaśidhvaja's mention of some exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

Chaps. 14-15.—Other deeds of Kalki, viz., his liberating the poison-girl at Kāñcanapurī, his installing of his followers on the thrones of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vāraṇāvata, Puṇḍra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kīkaṭa etc., his return to Śambhala and introduction of the Kṛta-yuga, and his liberating Śaśidhvaja who eulogised Māyā at Kokāmukha.

Chap. 16.—Performance of Rājasūya and other sacrifices by Viṣṇuyaśas. Nārada's instructions to Viṣṇuyaśas on the nature of Māyā and the glory of Kalki. Arrival of Paraśurāma at Śambhala.

Chap. 17.—Description of the method of performing the Rukmiṇī-vrata, which Rāma performed for a son at Paraśurāma's advice. Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Sarmiṣṭhā and Devayānī.

Chaps. 18-19.—Kalki's amorous sports with his wives. Brahmā and others' arrival at Śambhala, and Kalki's passing to heaven.

Chaps. 20-21.—Eulogy of Gaṅgā. Contents of the Kalki-p., which is said to consist of six thousand and one hundred verses; praise of studying this work. Conclusion.

The Kalki-p., as its contents show, is purely a Vaiṣṇava work, its philosophic standpoint being ‘dvaitādvaita’. It knows Viṣṇu’s ten incarnations including Balabhadra and the Buddha, and seems to regard Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself. It mentions the Tulasī plant once and the ‘Tantras’ on several occasions. By its statement that Kalki defeated the Buddha and his followers and carried on *dig-vijaya* for the establishment of *dharma*, this work seems to betray its knowledge of Śaṃkarācārya’s activities. That it is a late work is shown definitely by the fact that it is not referred to or drawn upon by any of the numerous Smṛti-writers known to us. It is, however, not to be dated later than the beginning of the eighteenth century A. D. One of its Mss was copied in Śaka 1726.

The Kalki-p. must have been written in Bengal. Almost all its Mss, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script; and in Aṃśa I, chap. 2 (verses 38 and 41) it speaks of ‘ten sacraments’ (daśa saṃskārāḥ) for Brahmins.

4. THE PURUṢOṬTAMA-PURĀṆA

This Upapurāṇa has not yet been printed, but a Ms of a work entitled Puruṣottama-p. has been mentioned in Bühler’s Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of Gujarāṭ, Kāṭhiāwāḍ, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandeś (2. 14). We do not know of any other Ms of this Upapurāṇa, nor does its title occur in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us.

Of the numerous commentaries, Nibandhas and various other works examined by us in this connection it is only the Kālasāra of Gadādhara which ascribes a verse to the ‘Puruṣottama-p.’[110] This quoted verse and the title of its source show that the ‘Puruṣottama-p.’, as known to Gadādhra, was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the glorification of Puruṣottama-kṣetra (Puri) as well as with the method and praise of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā there. As this quoted verse, in which Kṛṣṇa himself seems to be the speaker, is found neither in the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra of the present Brahma-p. nor in the Puruṣottama-māhātmya[111] of the Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., the 'Puruṣottama-p.' drawn upon by Gadādhara must have been a distinct work. Gadādhara's quotation from this work shows that it was written not later than 1200 A.D.

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[110] See Kālasāra, p. 184—
‘puruṣottama-purāṇe—
jayasva kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti subhadreti sakṛn narāḥ/
vadanti mārjane kāle yānti brahma-padaṃ *mama*//

As the above-mentioned Ms of the Puruṣottama-p., lying far beyond our reach, could not be examined, it is not possible for us to say whether or how far this Upapurāṇa is the same as that used by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra.

5. THE BṚHANNĀRADĪYA-PURĀṆA

This work, which was printed on more occasions than one,[112] can hardly claim to have had a very early origin. Yet it attained consider-

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[111] In Puruṣottama-māhātmya, chap. 31, there is a verse (No. 86—jayasva rāma kṛṣṇeti jaya bhadreti yo vadet/,
jaya kṛṣṇa jagannātha nāthety uccārayan mudā/,
snāna-kāle sa vai muktiṃ prayāti dvija-sattamāḥ//)
which resembles much the verse of the Puruṣottama-p. mentioned above. But in this verse of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya it is Jaimini, and not Kṛṣṇa, who is the speaker.

[112] So far as I know, this work was published twice by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta (the second edition having appeared in 1316 B.S.) and once by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1891 A.D.

Both these editions consist of 38 chapters and have generally the same text, although there are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

The Vaṅga. ed. is printed in Bengali characters. Yet, to avoid confusion in references, I have used it in the present work, because in my Purāṇic Records also I used it (in discussing its date and relation with the present Nāradīya-p.) in preference to the ASB ed., in which the verses have not in all cases been properly numbered. For instance, verses 80-85 of chap. 13 have been numbered in this edition simply as '80/81' without any demarcation, and verses 26-47 of chap. 24 have been wrongly numbered as 16-37. However, in using the Vaṅga. ed. I have always taken particular care to compare its readings with those of the able popularity as an interesting handbook of religious and ethical value, and this is evident from the discovery of its Mss[113] (written in different characters) from different parts of India.

Being meant exclusively for the Vaiṣṇavas it begins with a salutation, in two verses, to Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) of Vṛndāvana, who is said to be the original deity (ādi-deva) consisting of pure consciousness and

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ASB ed. and to see that no deduction is made from any verse, the text of which is not supported by both these editions.

[113] For these Mss see especially

(1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 9-11, Nos. 47-49 (all complete in 38 chaps.), of which No. 48 is written in Devanāgarī and No. 49 in Bengali scripts.

(2) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 129-130, No. 452 (consisting of 39 chaps.).

(3) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 225, No. 479 (written in Nāgara).

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., p. 24 (No. 845 ख, which ends in chap. 30 and is written in Maithila script), p. 25 (No. 910 क, which is written in Maithila script and dated La.-Saṃ. 429), and p. 29 (No. 1001 घ, which also is written in Maithila script and is dated La.-Saṃ. 425).

(5) A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss Acquired for and Deposited in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Sarasvatī Bhavana, Benares, 1918-30 (Prepared under the Supervision of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj), Vol. I, p. 16 (written in Bengali script).

(6) Dacca University Mss Nos. 548 (incomplete), 605B (incomplete), 625 (complete), 937 (complete; dated Śaka 1648), 1013 (complete; dated Śaka 1646); 1317 (incomplete), 1667 (complete; dated Śaka 1578), 1704 (complete; dated Śaka 1689), 2670 (complete; dated Śaka 1614), 2712 (complete; dated Śaka 1618), 3836 (complete), 4091 (complete; dated Śaka 1725), 4234 (ending in chap. 37; dated Śaka 1609), 4329 (complete).

All these Mss are written in Bengali script, and in the complete ones the work consists of 38 chapters.

(7) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1208-9, Nos. 3368-73 (all complete in 38 chapters and written in Devanāgarī). Of these, Nos. 3368, 3369 and 3370 are dated 1535, 1747 and 1769 A. D. respectively.

(8) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, pp. 914-5, Nos. 6612-13 (both being complete in 38 chapters). Of these two Mss, the former was copied in Bengali script in 1775 A.D. and the latter in Grantha characters in 1866-67 A.D.

(9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. i, pp. 1453-54, No. 2139 (breaking off in the 38th chapter; written in Telugu), and p. 1454, No. 2140 (complete in 38 chapters; written in Grantha characters).

also appearing in parts as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and others for the sake of creation. It then introduces its topics by narrating the story of Śaunaka as follows:

Śaunaka and many other sages practised austerities and worshipped Viṣṇu with great devotion in the Naimiṣa forest, some of them trying to please the god by austere practices, some by following the path of knowledge (jñāna), and some by cultivating the highest type of Bhakti. Once these and innumerable other sages met in a conference to find out the best means of attaining the four ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Finding that the sages were about to put to him questions as to what the sacred places and the Tīrthas were, how people could attain final liberation and unswerving devotion to Hari, and in what way the three kinds of actions bore fruit, Śaunaka referred them to Sūta, the best Paurāṇika, who was engaged in worshipping Janārdana by various sacrifices at Siddhāśrama. Śaunaka said that Sūta, son of Lomaharṣaṇa, was a pupil of Vyāsa and, being instructed by the latter in all the Śāstras, used to speak out in the Purāṇas the essence of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and other works and that with the decrease of Dharma in the different Yugas Madhusūdana appeared as Vyāsa and divided the Veda. Being thus informed of Sūta's learning and wisdom, the sages thanked Śaunaka and went to Siddhāśrama where Sūta had undertaken to perform the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice for the pleasure of Nārāyaṇa. After Sūta had taken his holy bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, the sages requested him to speak to them on the source and nature of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, the method of pleasing Viṣṇu by worship, the practice of Varṇāśrama-dharma, the right way of receiving guests, the means of attaining final liberation, and the nature of Bhakti and its attainments. Consequently, Sūta proposed to speak out 'the extensive (bṛhat) Purāṇa named Nāradīya' (or, 'the Bṛhannārada Purāṇa')[114] in which Nārada spoke to Sanatkumāra and which contained topics on Nārāyaṇa and was imbued with the Vedic ideas. He praised this work in high terms as yielding all the ends of life and decried and condemned to hell those who found in the Purāṇas nothing but 'arthavāda'.[115] (-Chap. 1). Being asked as to how and where Nārada met Sanatkumāra and what the former spoke to the latter, Sūta said that once Sanatkumāra and the other sons of Brahmā went to the peak of the mountain Meru and prepared to take their holy bath in the Ganges known by the name of Sītā, when Nārada arrived there singing the names of Hari and eulogising the sacred river. Sanatkumāra praised Nārada as the best devotee of Hari and requested him to speak on a number of religious topics including the origin of the universe. In compliance with this request Nārada began by eulogising Hari with the mention of his ten incarnations including Rāma (the carrier of the ploughshare), Īśāna, and another not expressly named but appearing from his description to be none but Kalki. (-Chap. 2).

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[114] Bnār. 1. 36 (purāṇaṃ nāradīyākhyaṃ bṛhad vedārtha-saṃmitam), and 1. 66 (... bṛhannārada-nāmadheyaṃ paraṃ purāṇaṃ......). In the ASB ed. the latter verse reads 'idaṃ nārada-nāmadheyaṃ' (for 'bṛhannārada-namadheyaṃ').

Thus the contents of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. have been introduced in chaps. 1-2. The remaining chapters deal with the following topics:

The process of origin of the universe from Mahāviṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) who assumes the forms of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas (Rajas, Sattva and Tamas respectively), and also appears as Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Description of Viṣṇu's Parā Śakti, which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā and is said to permeate the whole world and to effect its creation, preservation and destruction. People's naming of this Śakti variously as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Girijā, Ambikā, Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Caṇḍī, Vaiṣṇavī, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī etc. and as Māyā (or

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[115] Ibid., 1. 56-59—

nindāyāṃ kalahe vāpi hy asantaḥ pāpa-tatparāḥ//
purāṇeṣv arthavādatvaṃ ye vadanti narādhamāḥ/
tair arjitāni puṇyāni tadvad eva bhavanti vai//
samasta-karma-nirmūla-sādhanāni narādhamaḥ/
purāṇāny arthavādena śrutvā narakam aśnute//
yāvad brahmā sṛjaty etaj jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam/
tāvat sa pacyate pāpī narakāgniṣu saṃtatam//

Also 1. 61—

purāṇeṣu dvija-śreṣṭhāḥ sarva-dharma-pravaktṛṣu/
pravadanty arthavādatvaṃ ye te naraka-bhājanāḥ//

Mahāmāyā) for creating infatuation and as Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe.

Names of the seven upper worlds (Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ etc.) and the seven lower worlds (Atala, Vitala etc.). Geography of the earth;—position of the mountains Meru and Lokāloka which bound the seven oceans and of which the former is situated at the middle of the earth and forms the resort of all the gods and the latter lies at the farthest end of land;[116] division of the earth into seven continents (dvīpas, viz., Jambu, Plakṣa etc.); names of the oceans surrounding these continents; relative position and extents of the continents and the oceans; position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be lying on the north of the salt-ocean and on the south of the Himādri. Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the best place for pious work and for Viṣṇu-worship. (-Chap. 3).

Praise of faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti), which form the basis of Dharma and ensure success in all enterprises. Eloquent praise of faithful observance of āśramācāra (customs enjoined by one's order of life), without which neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara is of any avail to one. Benefits of association with good men, especially with the sincere devotees of the Bhagavat. (-Chap. 4).

Characteristics of the best Bhāgavatas, who include those devoutly worshipping Śiva, bearing the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra, and putting on Rudrākṣas. (-Chap. 5).

Glorification of the river Gaṅgā, especially at Prayāga, where this sacred river meets the Yamunā, and at Vārāṇasī.

Praise of reading and hearing the Purāṇas with devotion.

Mention of persons (including teachers and expounders of the Vedas and the Purāṇas) who are to be regarded as Gurus; classification and praise of Gurus. (-Chaps. 6 and 9).

Praise of bhūmi-dāna (11. 120ff.). Qualifications of persons to whom gifts should be made. (-Chap. 12).

Praise of various pious acts which please Viṣṇu and Śiva; providing Brahmins with means of livelihood; digging tanks, wells etc.; construction and preservation of temples meant for Viṣṇu or Śiva; dedication of orchards, and of flower-gardens meant for the public or for deities[117]; plantation of Tulasī plants and making arrangements for their preservation; bathing of Viṣṇu or Śiva with various articles and on different occasions; worship of these deities with various kinds of flowers and with the offer of different articles (including food materials); gift of cows, food, wealth, virgin girls (in marriage), books etc. to Brahmins; medical treatment of diseased persons, especially of Brahmins; rendering of various kinds of service to Viṣṇu or Śiva, their temples, and to Brahmins; and so on. (-Chap. 13).

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[116] Ibid., 3. 44—

bhūtale madhyame meruḥ sarva-deva-samāśrayaḥ/
lokālokaś ca bhūmy-ante tan-madhye sapta sāgarāḥ//.

Names of hells, and description of terrible punishments undergone by the sinners there. Persons to be considered guilty of mahāpātakas, viz., Brahma-hatyā, surā-pāna, svarṇa-steya, etc. Enumeration of sins leading to different hells and deserving different kinds of punishment. (-Chap. 14).

Observance of devotional Vratas on Śukla-dvādaśī and Paurṇamāsī Tithis for a year by worshipping Viṣṇu under particular names in the different months from Mārgaśīrṣa (Agrahāyaṇa) and bringing these Vratas to a conclusion after a year by worshipping Viṣṇu in Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍalas on the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa and Kārttika respectively. Performance of *homa*, keeping awake at night, and dance and music (both vocal and instrumental) form some of the most essential parts of these Vratas. (-Chaps. 16-17).

Description of other vows, viz., Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata (requiring the hoisting of a flag and the worship of the Sun, Garuḍa and the Moon as well), Hari-pañcaka-vrata (which is to be observed for five days from the Śuklaikādaśī Tithi of every month from Mārgaśīrṣa), Māsopavāsa-vrata (i.e. the vow of observing fast for a month), and Ekādaśī-vrata (-Chaps. 18-21).

Elaborate treatment of Varṇāśrama-dharma (including śrāddha, prāyaścitta, and tithi-nirṇaya for the efficacy of the Śrauta and the

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[117] Ibid., 13. 55—

sarva-lokopabhogārthaṃ puṣpārāmaṃ janeśvara/
kurvate devatārthaṃ vā teṣāṃ puṇya-phalaṃ śṛṇu//

Smārta rites), said to have been made in accordance with the prescriptions of Manu and others. (-Chaps. 22-28).

Description of the path of Yama (yama-mārga), which is said to be very pleasant for the virtuous but extremely dangerous and painful for the sinners. Nature of these pleasures and sufferings; and the poius acts (such as gift of various things including betel leaves, service to parents and others, reading of Purāṇas, and so on) which cause the pleasures. (-Chap. 29).

Account (in prose) of the course of rebirth of creatures, first as stationary objects of nature (such as trees, creepers, mountains, etc.) and then as worms, insects, beasts and human beings in succession. Gradual rise in caste, profession, and physical and financial condition of human beings in their successive births. Description of the course of development of the fôetus in the mother's womb. Painful experiences of a human being in the different stages of his life. (-Chap. 30).

Ways of attaining final liberation.—Distinction of *yoga* into Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga; detailed treatment of *yoga*, with the names of thirty kinds of āsanas (modes of sitting for the practice of *yoga*); characteristics of persons to be regarded as sincerely desirous of final liberation. (-Chap. 31).

Praise of rendering devotional service to Viṣṇu and his temples untiringly by body and mind or even unintentionally on rare occasions. (-Chaps. 32-37).

Names and extents of the four Yugas. Conduct of people in the different Yugas, especially in Kali. Praise of reading or hearing the Bṛhannāradīya-p. (-Chap. 38).

Besides the above contents the Bṛhannāradīya-p. has a number of stories, which include the following.

Mṛkaṇḍu's practice of severe austerities at Śālagrāma, and Mārkaṇḍeya's birth as his son and practice of the Bhāgavata-dharma at Śālagrāma according to Viṣṇu's instructions. (-Chaps. 4-5).

Birth of Sagara in Aurva's hermitage, after the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas had dethroned his proud and jealous father Bāhu, son of Vṛka, and administered poison to his mother with the intention of killing him in her womb and Aurva had consoled Sagara's mother and prevented her from burning herself to death[118] after Bāhu's demise in the forest; Sagara's education, military or otherwise, from Aurva, and his crushing defeat of the Śakas, Yavanas and others, whom Vasiṣṭha saved from annihilation by Sagara by turning them extra-Vedic and compelling the Pārṣṇikas (Pārasīkas?) to shave off their heads, the Yavanas to have long hair, and the others to have shaven heads and long beards;[119] Sagara's marriage with Keśinī and Sumati, daughters of a king of the Kauśika family of Vidarbha; birth of Asamañjasa to Keśinī and of sixty thousand sons to Sumati as a result of Aurva's boon; reproachable conduct of Asamañjasa and the other sons of Sagara, and the tyrannised gods' approach to Kapila for redress; birth of Aṃśumat to Asamañjasa; Sagara's performance of a Horse Sacrifice, and Kapila's reducing all the sons of Sagara to ashes for their misbehaviour to him for the sacrificial horse, which was kept in his hermitage by Indra; Aṃśumat's bringing the horse from Kapila's hermitage; birth of Dilīpa from Aṃśumat, of Bhagīratha from Dilīpa, and of Sudāsa in the family of Bhagīratha, Sudāsa's son being Saudāsa Mitrasaha.

Dharmarāja's instructions to Bhagīratha to rescue his burnt ancestors from hells by means of the waters of the Gaṅgā; Bhagīratha's consequent worship of Viṣṇu in the Himalayas, and his bringing down the Gaṅgā by propitiating Śiva in accordance with the instructions received from Bhṛgu living on the bank of the Godāvarī. (-Chaps. 7-8 and 13-15).

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[118] Among the verses said by Aurva to prevent Sagara's mother from self-immolation occurs the following one:

bālāpatyāś ca garbhiṇyo hy adṛṣta-ṛtavas tathā/
rajasvalā rāja-sute nārohanti citāṃ śubhe// (7.65).

This verse has been quoted in Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fol. 93b), Govindānanda's Śuddhi-kaumudī (p. 83), and Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (II, p. 236).

In his commentary (II. i, p. 59) on the Parāśara-smṛti Mādhavācārya also quotes this verse but ascribes it to the 'Nāradīya-p.'

(This verse is the same as Nār. I. 7. 52).

[119] Bnār. 8. 39—

cakāra pārṣṇikān muṇḍān yavanān lamba-mūrdhajān/
anyāṃś ca śmaśrulān muṇḍān anyān veda-bahiṣkṛtān//

In the ASB ed. the word 'yavanān' has been spelt as 'javanān'.

Saudāsa Mitrasaha's turning a Rākṣasa for twelve years as a result of Vasiṣṭha's curse brought on him by a Rākṣasa who caused Saudāsa to offer human flesh to Vasiṣṭha by appearing first in the form of Vasiṣṭha and then in that of Saudāsa's cook and thus took revenge for Saudāsa's killing, during a hunting expedition in a forest on the bank of the Revā (Narmadā), his female mate sporting with him in the form of a tigress. Saudāsa's having the name Kalmāṣapāda for throwing on his own feet the waters with which he was going to curse Vasiṣṭha for the mischief done by him. Saudāsa's eating up of a Brahmin sage on the bank of the Narmadā, and the latter's wife's curse to Saudāsa to continue to be a Rākṣasa for long and to meet death, during sexual enjoyment. Saudāsa's curse to the Brahmin woman to be a Piśācī. Saudāsa and the Brahmin woman's meeting with a Brahma-rākṣasa, who was formerly a Brahmin, named Somadatta, of Magadha; Saudāsa and others' regaining higher states of existence by coming in contact with the waters of the Gaṅgā. (-Chap.9).

Aditi's austerities after the gods' defeat in a war[120] with Bali, and Viṣṇu's birth to her as Vāmana and redemption of the kingdom of heaven for the gods. Origin of the Gaṅgā from the waters with which Vāmana's feet were washed by Bali. (-Chaps. 10-11).

Unconscious performance of the Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata by a reckless Śūdra named Mātali and a Niṣāda woman named Kokilinī, who, after death, passed to the region of Viṣṇu and were then reborn respectively as king Sumati of the Lunar race and his queen Satyamati. (-Chap. 18).

King Dharmakīrti's degradation by coming under the influence of the Pāṣaṇḍas, but his rebirth to sage Gālava as his extremely pious son by unconsciously performing the Ekādaśī-vrata. (-Chap. 21).

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[120] In describing this war the Bṛhannāradīya-p. names a large variety of missiles, which are as follows: Drughana, Bhindipāla, Khaḍga, Paraśu, Tomara, Parigha, Churikā, Daṇḍa, Cakra, Śaṅku, Muṣala, Aṅkuśa, Lāṅgala, Paṭṭiśa, Śakti, Upala, Śataghnī, Prāsa, Ayodaṇḍa, Muṣṭi, Śūla, Kuṭhāra, Pāśa, Kṣudra-yaṣṭi (or, Kṣudra and Yaṣṭi?), Bṛhacchara, Ayomukha, Tuṇḍa, Cakra-daṇḍa, Kṣudra-paṭṭiśa, Nārāca.—Bnār. 10. 23-27.

Devamāli's repentance after earning a large fortune by unlawful means, his spending half of his wealth in benevolent work, and his attainment of final liberation at Vārāṇasī by worshipping Viṣṇu according to the instructions of a sage named Jānanti. (-Chap. 33).

Sumāli's constant help to his reckless and licentious brother Yajñamāli, and his rescuing the latter from hellish tortures by offering to him a part of his religious merit. (-Chap. 34).

The above contents of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. show that it is a Vaiṣṇava work dealing exclusively with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu, who is very often named as Nārāyaṇa and sometimes also as Vāsudeva, Hari, Janārdana etc., but very rarely as Kṛṣṇa.[121] According to this work the highest deity in his supreme state is Mahāviṣṇu (very often called Nārāyaṇa), who is described as 'avyaya', 'ananta', 'sarvavyāpin', 'nirdvandva', 'nirmama', 'māyātīta', 'sadānandaika-vigraha', 'jñāna-svarūpa', 'jagac-caitanya-kāraṇa' and so on,[122] and said to be existing as one and many.[123] It is he who assumes the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas and creates the universe by means of his Parā Śakti (Supreme Active Power), which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former being the intellect (buddhi) that knows no distinction between the cognisor and the cognisable and makes one perceive the unity of all objects[124] and the latter making the universe appear as different from the god and causing miseries and rebirths.[125] The Śakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, which is also called Māyā or Mahāmāyā for creating infatuation of beings and Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe[126] and is popularly

[121] For this name (Kṛṣṇa) see Bnār. 2. 9, 11; 3.59; 15.71; 21. 73; 32.41.

[122] Bnār. 3. 1, 25. 61-63, 29. 72-76, and so on.

[123] Ibid., 3. 27—bhinnābhinna-svarūpeṇa sthito vai parameśvaraḥ.

[124] Ibid., 3. 8—jñātṛ-jñeyādy-upādhis tu yadā naśyati sattamāḥ/
sarvaika-bhāvanā buddhiḥ sā vidyety abhidhīyate//

[125] Ibid., 3. 7—yadā viśvaṃ mahāviṣnor bhinnatvena pratīyate/
tadā hy avidyā saṃsiddhā tadā duḥkhasya sādhanī//
Also ibid., 3.9a—evaṃ māyā mahāviṣṇor bhinnā saṃsāra-dāyini.

[126] Ibid., 3. 28—yasya śaktir mahāmāyā jagad-viśrambha-kāriṇī/
viśvotpatti-nidānatvāt prakṛtiḥ procyate budhaiḥ//
See also ibid. 3. 9a (quoted above) and 3. 15 (quoted below).

known by various names such as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Durgā etc., is all-pervading like the god himself;[127] and it is only by means of Yoga that one can perceive the identity of the god with his Māyā or Avidyā Śakti and thus get away from the latter, which is not unreal nor real nor both, resorts to the Indescribable (Being), and creates the sense of diversity of Paramātman.[128]

The Bṛhannāradīya-p. recommends the painting of the sectarian mark Ūrdhvapauṇḍra on all occasions (except Śrāddha according to some)[129] but severely denounces as extremely sinful and unfit for Śrauta and Smārta rites those persons who mark their limbs with the figures of the Śaṅkha (conch-shell), Cakra (disc) etc. or of the Liṅga (Phallus) created by the application of heat.[130] It prescribes the use and muttering of the great eight-syllabled Mantra 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya'[131] said to be eternally expressive of the god,[132] praises Bhakti with its ten gradations,[133] speaks very highly of serving the god like a servant,[134] and lays special stress on *avyabhicāriṇī bhakti* (unswerving devotion), which arises from pious acts and forms the basis of jñāna yielding final liberation.[135] In its opinion, a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu is superior to a Brahmin, and a Brahmin having no devotion for Viṣṇu is worse than a Cāṇḍāla.[136] It contains a good number of hymns mostly in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa[137] and speaks of innumerable incarnations of the god, of which only the following ten have been named: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnya, Rāma Dāśarathi, Rāma (Muṣalī, also called Nandasutāgraja), Īśāna and Kalki.[138]

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[127] Ibid., 3. 12-15—

yathā harir jagad-vyāpī tasya śaktis tathā mune/
dāha-śaktir yathāṅgāre svāśrayaṃ vyāpya tiṣṭhati//
umeti kecid āhus tāṃ śaktiṃ lakṣmīti cāpare/
... ...
brāhmīti vidyāvidyeti māyeti ca tathāpare/
prakṛtiś ca parā ceti vadanti paramarṣayaḥ//

[128] Ibid., 31. 69-71—

māyino māyayā bhedaṃ paśyanti paramātmani/
tasmān māyāṃ tyajed yogān mumukṣur vipra-sattamāḥ//
nāsad-rūpā na sad-rūpā māyā vai nobhayātmikā/
anirvācyāśritā jñeyā bheda-buddhi-pradāyinī//
māyaivājñāna-śabdena śabdyate muni-sattamāḥ/
tasmād ajñāna-vicchedo bhaved vigata-māyinām//

[129] Ibid., 24. 44-45, which include the following line—ūrdhvapauṇḍraṃ ca tulasīṃ śrāddhe necchanti kecana.

[130] Ibid., 14. 136-142.

[131] Ibid., 15. 18, 21, 37-38; 17. 8; 38. 99.

[132] Ibid., 15. 43—

vācyo nārāyaṇaḥ prokto mantras tad-vācakaḥ smṛtaḥ/
vācya-vācaka-sambandho nitya eva mahātmanaḥ//

[133] Viz., Tāmasādhamā, Tāmasa-madhyamā, Tāmasottamā, Rājasādhamā, Rājasa-madhyamā, Rājasottamā, Sāttvikādhamā, Sāttvika-madhyamā, Sāttvikottamā, and Uttamottamā (Bnār. 14. 195-207).

In its discourse on the way of attaining final liberation (mokṣa) in chap. 31 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. deals elaborately with Yoga consisting of Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga, of which the former requires the worship of all-pervading Viṣṇu in images, twice-born people, the earth, fire, sun, pictures etc. and forms the basis of the latter.[139] As a matter of fact, worship of Viṣṇu in images forms the preliminary step to the realisation of the god and is meant for 'ignorant people, who always worship the Lord of the Universe in images of stone etc.'[140] It takes jñāna to be the same as *buddhi* purified by the total destruction of sins by supreme faith (parā śraddhā)[141] and extols Yoga saying that it is only the Yogins who acquire jñāna yielding mokṣa.[142] On the authority of the Atharva-veda it distinguishes Ātman (or Brahma) into Para and Apara, of which Para Ātman is beyond the Guṇas and Apara Ātman has Ahaṃkāra; and Yoga is said to be the perfect realisation of the unity of Para and Apara Ātman.[143] As to the correct practice of Yoga it says:

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[134] Bnār. 14. 204.

[135] Ibid., 1. 13; and 31. 27—

jñāna-labhyaṃ paraṃ mokṣaṃ prāhus tattvārtha-cintakāḥ/
tajjñānaṃ bhakti-mūlaṃ ca bhaktiḥ sat-karmajā tathā//

[136] Ibid., 32. 39, and 35. 12.

[137] Ibid.. 2. 20-53; 4. 55-63; 4. 84-89; 5. 24-32; 11. 19-39, 71-79; 15. 57-64; 36. 3-38.

[138] Ibid., 2. 31-41. See also ibid., 11. 77-78 for some of the names.

[139] Ibid., 31. 31-33—

yogas tu dvividhaḥ proktaḥ karma-jñāna-prabhedataḥ//
kriyā-yogaṃ vinā nṝṇāṃ jñāna-yogo na sidhyati/
kriyā-yoga-ratas tasmāc chraddhayā harim arcayet//
pratimā-dvija-bhūmy-agni-sūrya-citrādiṣudvijāḥ/
arcayeddharim eteṣu viṣṇuḥ sarva-gato yataḥ//

[140] Ibid., 2. 48—ajñā yajanti viśveśaṃ pāṣāṇādiṣu sarvadā/

> śanaiḥ śanair vijetavyāḥ prāṇā matta-gajendravat/
> anyathā khalu jāyante mahāroga-bhayaṃkarāḥ// (31. 128).

"Like intoxicated lordly elephants the vital airs should be controlled by and by, otherwise they become dreadful by (creating) dangerous diseases."

Going to speak on devotional service to Viṣṇu the Bṛhannāradīya-p. extols the sanctity and efficacy of the waters and mud of the Ganges[144] and urges people to maintain the Tulasī plant in their houses, to salute and worship it with great devotion,[145] and to wear its wood and leaves on their ears.[146] A very small particle of Ganges-water in which a Tulasī-leaf has been placed, is said to purify twenty-one generations (9. 133, 138); gift of land with Tulasī plants in it is highly praised (11. 127); and even Viṣṇu is said to wear a 'Tulasī-mālā' (31. 138).

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[141] Ibid., 31. 29-30—
śraddhayā parayā caiva sarva-pāpaṃ praṇaśyati//
sarva-pāpeṣu naṣṭeṣu buddhir bhavati nirmalā/
saiva buddhiḥ samākhyātā jñāna-śabdena sūribhiḥ//

[142] Ibid., 31. 31—jñānaṃ ca mokṣadaṃ prāhus tajjñānaṃ yogināṃ bhavet.

[143] Ibid., 31. 57-58—
ātmānaṃ dvividhaṃ prāhuḥ parāpara-vibhedataḥ/
dve brahmaṇī veditavye iti cātharvaṇī śrutiḥ//
paras tu nirguṇaḥ prokto ahaṃkāra-yuto 'paraḥ/
tayor abheda-vijñānaṃ yoga ity abhidhīyate//

[144] See ibid., chaps. 6, 9 and 37, especially 6. 30 (on the benefits of besmearing the head and body with the mud of the Ganges) and 14. 218-9 (on the benefits of throwing the hair, bones, nails, teeth or ashes of a deceased person into the waters of the sacred river).

[145] Ibid., 6. 65; 11. 62; 23. 59-69; 14. 191; 37. 52-53; 37. 65; and so on

[146] Ibid., 5. 53; 13. 65.

One of the striking features of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. is that it repeatedly praises Śiva-worship and declares the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Among the best Bhāgavatas it includes those persons who love and worship Śiva, constantly meditate upon him, mutter his five-syllabled Mantra (namaḥ śivāya), offer costly sacrifices to him as well as to Hari with great devotion, utter the names of these two deities, carry the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra, and wear Rudrākṣas (5. 56-61). It gives out Śiva to be a form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (15. 74) and regards as 'venerable that Brahmin who looks up, without any idea of distinction, to the Lord of gods (deveśa) consisting of Nārāyaṇa and Śiva' (3. 63). Severely denouncing those who distinguish between these two gods it says:

"The Phallus (liṅga) assumes the form of Hari, and Hari bears the form of the Phallus. There is not the slightest difference (between them), (and) one who makes (any) distinction, acquires sin.

"(Only) the sinners merged in the ocean of nescience find distinction in the eternal god designated as Hari and Saṃkara.

"It is that imperishable god, the Lord of the worlds and the Cause of causes, who devours up the universe at the end of a Yuga by assuming the form of Rudra.

"Rudra protects the entire universe in the form of Viṣṇu; and Hari creates it by assuming the form of Brahmā and (then) devours it himself.

"The man who differentiates between Hari, Śaṃkara and Brahmā, suffers in hell as long as the moon and stars exist.

"It is the decided opinion of the holy scriptures that one who looks upon Hara, Hari and Vidhātṛ as one, attains supreme bliss."[147]

In Bṛhannāradīya-p. 14. 214-5 Dharmarāja (Kāla) says to king Bhagīratha, "Worship Hara and Viṣṇu, O king, by taking them to be one. The person who distinguishes (between them) becomes guilty of misdeeds of the magnitude of decades of thousands of Brahmin-murder. Śiva is (the same as) this Hari in person, (and) it is Hari who is Śiva himself. One who makes any distinction between them suffers in crores of hells" (14. 214-215).

[147] Ibid., 6. 41-46.

We have already seen how the Bṛhannāradīya-p. extols even a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and takes him to be superior to a Brahmin who is not so. But this attitude relates simply to religious fervour and does not mean that the Bṛhannāradīya-p. has no respect for the Vedas and the Vedic views of life and conduct. On the other hand, it prescribes the study of the Vedas to the members of the higher three castes (22. 20, 23-25), declares these works to be as much superior to other scriptures as Keśava is to the other gods (32.9), repeatedly identifies them with Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,[148] takes Dharma to be rooted in them (4. 17, 27. 64), and urges people to practise, for the satisfaction of Nārāyaṇa, the duties enjoined by these sacred works (3. 80, 27. 64). It includes among the superiors (guravaḥ) those people who study the Vedas and correctly explain their meanings to others, and assigns to them the foremost position among those who are specially venerable (9. 89-90, 98). In its opinion, a teacher of the Vedas is to be saluted first of all (23.35), and one becomes a Śūdra and goes to hell by studying scriptures excluding the Vedas (23. 66). It regards Gāyatrī as destructive of all sins and as the mother of the Vedas (6. 61-65), severely denounces those who hate or sell these works,[149] and advises people not to invite under any circumstances in a Śrāddha ceremony a Brahmin who is 'bereft of the Vedas' (26. 35).

It is very natural that with its high regard for the Vedas the Bṛhannāradīya-p. should extol 'Smṛti' which records Dharma rooted in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, it urges people to follow their own Gṛhya-sūtras in kindling fire (agnyādhāna) and performing *homa* and other Gṛhya rites including the sacraments (22. 10a, 26.50ff., 23.9), encourages them to practise Dharma as declared in the Smṛtis (24.46), looks upon the sellers of these works as great sinners like those of the Vedas (12. 9), and prescribes the observance of Vratas and other religious rites on Tithis determined in accordance with the directions of the Smṛtis (27. 63). It firmly believes in caste-system, knows the distinction between the various castes and subcastes, and fully recognises the supremacy of Brahmins in society. It warns with residence in hell those who take, enhance or collect the revenue of a village belonging to a Brahmin and all those who support others in doing so (14. 122-124). In its account of the gradual improvement attained by creatures in their successive births it mentions the following castes, of which each succeeding one is taken to be superior to that immediately preceding it:

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[148] Ibid., 4. 17, 23. 68, and so on.

[149] Ibid., 4. 17; 12. 4-5, 8-9; 14. 49.

Carmakāra, Caṇḍāla, Vyādha, Rajaka, Kumbhakāra, Lohakāra, Suvarṇakāra, Tantravāya, Vaṇik, Śikhājaṭa (?), Dhāvaka, Lekhaka, Bhṛtaka, Śāsanahārin (30. 2).

It assigns the Śūdras and women to a very low position in the social fabric. About these important members of the Hindu society it says:

"A twice-born man who, being invited by a Śūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma (14. 39).

"Or, a twice-born man who, being asked by a Śūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and deprived (of the right of performing) all (Śrauta and Smārta) work (14. 40).

... ...

"A man who bows down to a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by a Śūdra, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) decades of thousands of penances (14. 54).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Hari touched by a Śūdra, undergoes all (kinds of) suffering till the moon and the stars exist (14. 55).

... ...

"By saluting a Liṅga worshipped by an Ābhīra one goes to hell, O king, even though one may be versed in the Vedas or know the meanings of all Śāstras (14. 56b-57).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or even (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by women, lives in Raurava (hell) with a crore of his generations up to the end of a *kalpa* (14.58).

"A Śūdra or women must not touch a Liṅga from the time it is established according to (the right) procedure by those versed in the *mantras* (14.59).

"Neither women nor those invested with the sacred thread, nor the Śūdras, O lord of men, have the right of touching (an image of) Viṣṇu or Śaṃkara (14. 60).

... ...

"A man who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu consecrated by a Śūdra, meets with endless miseries in this very world, not to speak of the next one (14. 62).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by an Ābhīra, meets with destruction, O lord of men. What is the good of speaking anything more? (14. 63).

"By touching (an image of) Keśava or Śiva a Śūdra, one not invested with the sacred thread, women, and a 'fallen' man (*patita*) suffer in hell (14. 64).

... ...

"There is no atonement for those who ... ... have association with Śūdra women, (and) nourish their body with food received from Śūdras, ... (14. 66-67).

... ...

"A man who reads the Vedas in the proximity of women and Śūdras, goes to hells successively during thousands of crores of *kalpas*" (14. 144).

The Bṛhannāradīya-p. warns students against having any contact with Śūdras (23. 32); and in connection with one's profession in distress it says;

"Even in dire distress a twice-born man must not take to the profession of Śūdras. If an infatuated twice-born man does so, he is looked upon as a Cāṇḍāla.

"Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (viṣaḥ) are well-known as 'twice-born' people. And they have four stages of life, there being no fifth" (23. 31-32).

From the above statements about the Śūdras and women it appears that these members of the Hindu society were seriously influenced by the ideas and practices of the extra-Vedic sectaries, especially the Buddhists and the Tantriks. As a matter of fact, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. amply testifies to the great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, which threatened the very basis of the Varṇāśramadharma of the Vedas. It uses the name 'Pāṣaṇḍa' for the Buddhists and the Tantriks and defines it saying:

"As the Bauddhas decry the Vedas, they are called Pāṣaṇḍins" (14. 70),

"Those who have ceased to perform the sacrifices to the gods and Pitṛs and strayed from the Vedic way (of life), are well-known as Pāṣaṇḍas and undergo a multitude of sufferings" (14. 186),

"A Pāṣaṇḍa is so called by the wise on account of his forsaking the duties of his own caste" (22. 9),

"One who, after forsaking his own (lawful) work, takes to the work of others, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma" (23. 2), and

"That cunning twice-born mortal, who does not perform Saṃdhyā (i.e. the morning, noon and evening prayer) in times when there is no calamity, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and placed outside all (Śrauta and Smārta) work" (25. 29).

That in the above passages the name Pāṣaṇḍa was applied for the Tantriks also is shown by the mention at several places of the worship of the Liṅga or the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva by the Pāṣaṇḍas. For instance, in chap. 14 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. says that 'by saluting a Liṅga worshipped by the Pāṣaṇḍas one is reduced to the state of a Pāṣaṇḍa even though he may be versed in the Vedas and know the meanings of all Śāstras' (verse 56), and that '(a twice-born man) must not worship even in dream (an image of) Viṣṇu or Śaṃkara (which has been) worshipped by those who have forsaken the customs and usages (ācāra) of their own orders of life' (verse 61). As these extra-Vedic sectaries did not follow the Vedic way of life and disproved the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices by puzzling argumentation, and as association with them made others acquire their habits (21. 53-55), the Bṛhannāradīya-p. repeatedly warns people against talking,[150] or having any other kind of contact, with them. It says:

"One who enters the house of a Bauddha even in great distress, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) hundreds of penances.

"The Bauddhas are called Pāṣaṇḍins, because they decry the Vedas.

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[150] Ibid., 17. 20 (pāṣaṇḍālāpa-varjitaḥ).

So, a twice-born man, if he has (any) regard for the Vedas, must not look at them.

"(One acquires sin), in case one enters the house of a Bauddha knowingly or unknowingly. There is no escape (from sin), (if one does so) knowingly. This is the decision of Śāstras". (14. 69-71).

Going to deal with the duties (*dharma*) of the different castes and orders of life 'as prescribed by Manu and others' (manvādyaiś coditaṃ ca yat—22. 6), the Bṛhannāradīya-p. encourages the due performance of Yuga-dharmas by all the castes[151] but names a number of lawful practices which, being considered unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden by wise men in the Kali age. These practices have been mentioned in the following verses:

> "karmaṇā manasā vācā yatnād dharmān samācaret/
> asvargyaṃ loka-vidviṣṭaṃ dharmam apy ācaren na tu//
> samudra-yātrā-svīkāraḥ kamaṇḍalu-vidhāraṇam/
> dvijānām asavarṇāsu kanyāsūpayamas tathā//
> devareṇa sutotpattir madhuparke paśor vadhaḥ/
> māṃsa-dānaṃ tathā śrāddhe vānaprasthāśramas tathā//
> dattākṣatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ punar-dānaṃ parasya ca/
> dīrgha-kālaṃ brahmacaryaṃ naramedhāśvamedhakau//
> mahāprasthāna-gamanaṃ gomedhaṃ ca tathā makham/
> imān *dharmān kali-yuge varjyān* āhur manīṣiṇaḥ//"
> (22.12-16).

"One should carefully practise *dharma* (lawful duty) by work, mind and word, but one should not perform an act which, though legal, is unfavourable for (the attainment of) heaven and is disliked by the people.

"Undertaking of sea voyage; carrying of a kamaṇḍalu; marriage of twice-born people with girls of other castes.

"Raising of issue by the husband's brother; killing of an animal in Madhuparka; offering of meat in Śrāddha; the stage of a forest-hermit.

"Offering again (in marriage), to another (bridegroom), of a married girl whose marriage was not consummated; celibacy (i.e. studentship) for a long period; (performance of) human sacrifice and horse sacrifice.

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[151] Ibid., 22. 11a—yuga-dharmāḥ parigrāhyā varṇair etair yathocitam.

"Starting on a great journey; and cow sacrifice.—These *lawful acts* have been declared by the wise as *forbidden in the Kali age.*"

As to the Ācāras (customs and usages) deserving practice, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. attaches much importance to those enjoined by one's caste and order of life and decries wilful negligence of these, saying:

"One who gives himself up to devotion to Hari without transgressing one's own ācāra, goes to the abode of Viṣṇu which is seen by gods.

"O powerful sage, one who, while performing the duties declared by the Vedas and required by one's own order of life, engages himself in meditation on Hari, attains final beatitude.

"Dharma arises from ācāra, and Acyuta is the lord of Dharma. Being worshipped by one who is engaged in (the practice of) ācāra enjoined by one's stage of life Hari gives everything.

"He who, though being a master of Vedānta together with the Aṅgas, falls from his own ācāra, is known as '*patita*' (fallen from his caste), because he is outside (the pale of Śrauta and Smārta) work.

"He who deviates from ācāra enjoined by his own order of life, is said to be '*patita*', no matter whether he is given to devotion to Hari or engaged in meditation on him.

"O best of the twice-born, neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara purifies that fool who has fallen from ācāra.

"Neither visit to holy places, O Brahman, nor residence in sacred Tīrthas, nor performance of various sacrifices saves one who has discarded ācāra.

"Heaven is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, happiness is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, and final release is attained by (the practice of) ācāra. What is not attained by (the practice of) ācāra?"[152]

The Bṛhannāradīya-p. further adds:

"Viṣṇu is not satisfied with one who sticks only to Bhakti after

[152] Ibid., 4. 20-27.

giving up (all religious) works, because he is to be worshipped with ācāra.

"In all sacred scriptures ācāra has the first consideration. Dharma arises from ācāra, (and) Acyuta is the lord of Dharma.

"Hence such devotion to Hari is to be practised as does not go against one's own Dharma. Dharma and Artha do not yield happiness to those who do not follow sadācāra (practice of good men)."[153]

Feeling that faithful practice of ācāra may not be possible for all under all circumstances this work says:

> "sva-grāme pūrṇam ācāram pathy ardhaṃ muni-sattamāḥ /
> āture niyamo nāsti mahāpadi tathaiva ca //" (25. 16).

"Complete ācāra (is to be practised) in (one's) own village, half (of the same) on the way (during a journey), O best of sages, and there is no rule in times of illness as well as in great distress."

But it does not attach the same importance to all kinds of ācāra. It recommends 'vṛddhācāra' (practice of old men) as acceptable (vṛddhācāraḥ parigrāhyaḥ—24. 45) and says that 'grāmācāra' (peculiar practices of villages) may be followed without going against the prescriptions of Smṛtis.[154] As regards 'deśācāra' (i. e. the peculiar practices of different countries) this work says:

> "deśācārāḥ parigrāhyās tat-tad-deśīyajair naraiḥ/
> anyathā patito jñeyaḥ sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtaḥ//" (22. 17).

"The (peculiar) practices of (different) countries should be followed by the people born in those particular countries. Otherwise, one is known as 'fallen' (*patita*) and externed from all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma."

Among the peculiar customs then prevailing in the Hindu society the Bṛhannāradīya-p. mentions the following: difference of opinion as regards right for *upanayana* (investiture with the sacred thread) of the Kuṇḍas, Golakas, idiots and others, or of their sons;[155] a householder's wearing of two sacrificial threads with an upper garment,[156] two golden ear-ornaments (called kuṇḍala), a turban (uṣṇīṣa), and footwears of wood and leather (pāduke cāpy upānahau);[157] prohibition to a householder against wearing a single piece of cloth and keeping his hair loose during worship, ācamana, bath, etc. (24. 25), against riding camels or cars drawn by these animals (24. 26), against touching the shade of a lamp, a beadstead, and one's body, and also a piece of cloth used for tying the hair, and dusts of goats and cats,[158] and against passing by a cow, a horse, an assembly, a crossway and a temple by keeping them to the left;[159] covering the earth with grass and carrying in hand a piece of wood at the time of passing stool or making water (25.4); and so on.

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[153] Ibid., 14. 209-211.

[154] Ibid., 22. 11—grāmācāras tathā grāhyaḥ smṛti-mārgāvirodhataḥ.

[155] Ibid., 23. 65—kuṇḍa-golakayoḥ kecij jaḍādināṃ ca sattamāḥ/
vadanti copanayanaṃ tat-putreṣu ca kecana//

As to the position of certain members of the Hindu society the Bṛhannāradīya-p. gives us interesting information. According to this work the following persons were looked down upon for their profession: a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka (also called Nakṣatra-pāṭha-jīvin), i.e. one studying the stars; a Devalaka (temple-priest); a Grāma-yājaka (one serving as a priest for a village); a Loka-yājaka (public priest); a Bhiṣak or Bhiṣak-śāstropajīvin (physician); a Gāyaka (singer); and a Kāvya-kartṛ (composer of poems). About these persons the Bṛhannāradīya-p. makes the following statements: A gift made to a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka becomes futile (12.6), and he does not deserve salutation (23.38) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.11); taking of food offered by a Devalaka is equal to the drinking of wine (14.38); a Grāma-yājaka does not deserve salutation (23.37) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.12); the Bṛhannāradīya-p. should not be read to a Loka-yājaka (1.48); one should bathe with one's garments at the sight of a Bhiṣak (24.30); and a Gāyaka, a Kāvya-kartṛ and a Bhiṣak-śāstropajīvin should not be invited in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.17).

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[156] Ibid., 24. 19—yajñopavita-dvitayaṃ sottarīyaṃ ca dhārayet.

[157] Ibid., 24. 20-22.

[158] Ibid., 24. 32—dīpa-khaṭvā-tanu-cchāyā keśa-vastraṃ ghaṭodakam/
āja-mārjāra-reṇuś ca hanti puṇyaṃ purā-kṛtam//

[159] Ibid., 24. 35—gām aśvaṃ ca sabhāṃ caiva tathaiva ca catuṣpatham/
devatāyatanaṃ caiva nāpasavyaṃ vrajed dvijaḥ//

In connection with penance (prāyaścitta) treated of in chap. 28 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. names three varieties of wine (surā)—gauḍī, mādhvī and paiṣṭī (28.25) and eleven varieties of liquor (*madya*), viz., tāla, pānasa, drākṣa, kharjura-saṃbhava, mādhūka, śaila, āviṣṭa, maireya, nārikelaja, gauḍī and mādhvī (28.32-33). It declares all kinds of wine as untouchable and undrinkable to the members of the four castes, both male and female, and says that by taking wine (surā) as medicine for curing a disease one has to undergo two courses of Cāndrāyaṇa and to be invested with the sacred thread again (28.30), that food coming in contact with wine, water kept in a jar which contained wine, and articles of food soaked with wine, are to be considered as equal to wine itself (28.31), and that one guilty of adultery with the Śūdra wife of one's teacher (*guru*), must practise the Prājāpatya Vrata for three years (28.68). Like the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. prescribes the performance of Prāṇāyāma or the muttering of the Gāyatrī as atonement for sin caused by certain acts, viz., stealing of small quantities of gold (of the weights of a trasareṇu, a niṣka, a rājasarṣapa, a gosarṣapa, and a *yava*),[160] touching of certain persons (viz., a woman in her monthly courses, a Cāṇḍāla, one guilty of a Mahāpātaka or heinous crime, a recently delivered woman, an outcast, and such washermen and others as have not washed their hands and mouths after taking food),[161] and hearing their voice in the course of a Vrata, etc. (28.92). According to this work the weight of a suvarṇa is as follows: 8 trasareṇus = 1 niṣka, 3 niṣkas = 1 rājasarṣapa, 3 rājasarṣapas = 1 gosarṣapa, 6 gosarṣapas = 1 *yava*, 3 *yavas* = 1 kṛṣṇala, 5 kṛṣṇalas = 1 māṣa, 16 māṣas = 1 suvarṇa.[162]

In describing Yuga-dharma in chap. 38 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. says that no division of the Veda was made in the Kṛta-yuga (38. 8), that Nārāyaṇa was white in the Kṛta-yuga, red in Tretā, yellow in Dvāpara, and black in Kali,[163] and that the Veda was divided in the

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[160] Ibid., 28. 47-50.

[161] Ibid., 28. 87-88.

[162] Ibid., 28. 36-39.

[163] Ibid., 38. 13, 14, 16 and 21.

Dvāpara age (38. 17). As regards the conduct of the people of the Kali age this work makes, in the forms of prophecies, a number of interesting statements, some of which are as follows:

"sarit-tīre baddha-hālair vāpayiṣyanti cauṣadhīḥ/
alpam alpaṃ phalaṃ tāsāṃ bhaviṣyati kalau yuge//
……… ……… ………
na vratāni cariṣyanti brāhmaṇā veda-nindakāḥ/
na yakṣyanti na hoṣyanti hetu-vādair vināśitāḥ//
……… ……… ………
na kasyacid abhimato viṣṇu-bhakti-paras tathā/
deva-pūjā-parān dṛṣṭvā upahāsaṃ prakurvate//
……… ……… ………
kaleḥ prathama-pāde 'pi vinindanti hariṃ narāḥ/
yugānte 'pi harer nāma naiva kaścit smariṣyati//
……… ……… ………
kuhakair akṣarais tatra hetu-vāda-viśāradaiḥ/
pāṣaṇḍino bhaviṣyanti cāturāśramya-nindakāḥ//
na ca dvijāti-śuśrūṣāṃ na sva-dharma-pravartanam/
kariṣyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-liṅgino 'dhamāḥ//
śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti kūṭa-yukti-viśāradāḥ//
aśauca-yukta-matayaḥ para-pakvānna-bhojinaḥ/
bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ pravrajitās tathā//
utkoca-jīvinas[164] tatra mahāpāpa-ratās tathā/
bhaviṣyanty atha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kāpālā bhikṣavas tathā//
dharma-vidhvaṃsa-śīlānāṃ dvijānāṃ vipra-sattamāḥ/
(śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti pravrajyā-liṅga-dhāriṇaḥ//)[165]
ete cānye ca bahavaḥ pāṣaṇḍā vipra-sattamāḥ/
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge//
gīta-vādya-parā viprā veda-deva-parāṅmukhāḥ/
bhaviṣyanti kalau prāpte śūdra-mārga-pravartinaḥ//
… … … … …

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[164] In the Viṣṇudharma (chap. 105) there is mention of 'Utkocas' (or Utkaucas) as a class of heretics. See pp. 149 and 150 above.

[165] This line (śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti etc.) occurs not in the Vaṅga. ed, but in the ASB ed, of the Bṛhannāradīya-p.

viśvāsa-hīnāḥ piśunā veda-deva-dvijātiṣu/
asaṃskṛtokti-vaktāro bahu-dveṣa-ratās tathā//
... ...
bhaviṣyanti kalau prāpte rājāno mleccha-jātayaḥ//
... ...
veda-nindā-parāś caiva dharma-śāstra-vinindakāḥ/
śūdra-vṛttyā ca jīvanti dvijā naraka-bhāginaḥ//
... ...
nagareṣu ca grāmeṣu prākāreṣv adhikā janāḥ/
caurādi-bhaya-bhītāś ca kāṣṭha-yantrāṇi kurvate//
durbhikṣa-kara-pīḍādhir atīvopadrutā janāḥ/
godhūmāḍhyaṃ yavānnāḍhyaṃ deśaṃ yāsyanti duḥkhitāḥ//
... ...
pāpa-jālena niratāḥ (niyatāḥ?) pāṣaṇḍa-jana-saṅginaḥ/
yadā dvijā bhaviṣyanti tadā vṛddhiṃ gataḥ kaliḥ//"[166]

"(People) will cause (men) with set ploughs (baddha-hāla) to sow herbs on the banks of rivers, but the output of those (herbs) will be very scanty in the Kali age (38. 43).

... ...

"The Brahmins, denouncing the Vedas, will not observe (any) vows, nor, being spoiled by (heretical) reasonings, will they perform any sacrifice or *homa* (38. 46).

... ...

"A person sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu will not be liked by any one, and people will ridicule (the devotees of Viṣṇu,) finding (them) given to the worship of the god (38. 49c-50a).

... ...

"Even during the first quarter of the Kali age people will decry Hari, and at its end also none will remember his name (38. 52).

... ...

"Being influenced by the roguish experts in (heretical) dialectics with (promises of) final beatitude people will become Pāṣaṇḍins and decry the four stages of life (38. 54).

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[166] Bnār. 38. 43, 46, 49b-50a, 52, 54-61, 64, 74b, 79, 86-87, 91.

"At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own *dharma* (38. 55).

"The Śūdras, skilled in puzzling argumentation, will instruct *dharma* (38. 56).

"The wicked Śūdras will have unholy mental tendencies, turn wandering mendicants, and subsist on food prepared by others (38.57).

"Living on bribe and being given to heinous crimes they will become Pāṣaṇḍas, Kāpālas and Bhikṣus (38. 58).

"O best of Brahmins, the Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will instruct *dharma* to the twice-born men habituated to its destruction (38. 59).

"In the Kali age, O best of Brahmins, these and many other Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas will become Pāṣaṇḍas (38. 60).

"After the Kali age comes up, the Brahmins given to song and instrumental music but averse to the Vedas and the gods, will set themselves to the path of the Śūdras (38. 61).

... ...

"(They will become) faithless and slanderous about the Vedas, gods and twice-born (men), utter unrefined speech, and be engaged in hostility with many (people) (38. 64).

... ...

"After the Kali age comes up, persons belonging to the Mleccha tribes will become kings (38. 74b).

... ...

"Being given to the denouncement of the Vedas and decrying the Dharma-śāstras, the twice-born (people) will live by (following) the profession of the Śūdras deserving residence in hells (38. 79).

... ...

"Being afraid of theives etc. the majority of people in cities and villages will set machines of wood in walls (or ramparts) (38. 86).

"Being very much affected by the sufferings caused by famine and taxation people will feel distressed and migrate to countries rich in wheat and barley-food (38. 87).

... ...

"When, being bound by a multitude of sins, the twice-born people will associate with the extra-Vedic people (pāṣaṇḍa-jana), then Kali will grow (in power) (38. 91)."

From the above statements it is evident that at the time when the Bṛhannāradīya-p. was composed there was a great spread of the extra-Vedic faiths, especially Buddhism and Tantricism, which seriously affected the social discipline required for the Dharma rooted in the Vedas.

Following the Bhagavad-gītā the Bṛhannāradīya-p. (3. 78ff.) encourages selfless work, which is to be done only for the satisfaction of Viṣṇu and not with a desire for the reward. It advises people to work untiringly and to dedicate all their actions to Viṣṇu in case they desire to enjoy their fruits in the next world (3. 77). Like many other Purāṇas this work has a pessimistic view of life and takes the body to be 'rooted in sin' and 'engaged in doing sinful acts' (31. 6). In chap. 29 it gives an account of the sufferings of the sinners in the path of Yama and describes Citra-gupta, an officer of Yama, thus:

> "pralayāmbudhi-nirghoṣaḥ añjanādri-sama-prabhaḥ/
> vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvāviṃśad-bhuja-saṃyutaḥ//
> yojana-traya-vistāro raktākṣo dīrgha-nāsikaḥ/
> daṃṣṭrā-karāla-vadano vāpī-tulya-vilocanaḥ//
> mṛtyu-jvarādibhir yuktaś citragupto vibhīṣaṇaḥ/" (29.50-52a).

"Having a thundering voice like the roar of the ocean at the dissolution (of the universe), possessing splendour like that of a mountain of collyrium, looking dreadful with weapons shining like lightning, and having twenty-two hands, an extent of three *yojanas*, red and well-like eyes, a long nose, and a mouth made dreadful by large teeth, Citragupta, attended by Death, Fever and others, looks extremely terrible."

We shall now discuss the date of composition of the present Bṛhannāradīya-p.

From the analysis of the contents of this work given above it is evident that it is a purely sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. Its title 'Bṛhannārada' or 'Bṛhannāradīya', occurring in the body of the chapters[167] as well as in the colophons, indicates that it is not the original Nāradīya-p., the words 'bṛhat,' 'vṛddha' etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. As the present Nāradīya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Bṛhannāradīya,[168] we cannot agree with Winternitz in holding that the Bṛhannāradīya-p. 'is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada - or Nāradīya - Upapurāṇa'.[169] That this work is merely an Upapurāṇa and not the same as the genuine Nāradīya-p., is shown definitely by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., of which the first describes the Nāradīya-p. as follows:

"yatrāha nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpāśrayāṇi ca/
pañcaviṃśat-sahasrāṇi nāradīyaṃ tad ucyate//"
(Mat. 53.23)

"That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims the (religious) duties as well as (other matters) connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradīya".

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[167] See Bnār. 1. 36 and 66, and 38. 132. See also foot-note 114 above.

[168] The chapters of the Bṛhannāradīya-p., as occurring in the Nāradiya-p., are as follows:

Bṛhannāradiya-p.,	Nāradīya-p.,
chaps. 1-11	=chaps. 1-11.
12. 1-12	—cf. 12. 1-28.
13. 1-5	= ×
13. 6-39	= 12. 29-58.
	=12. 59-98 (on the story of king Vīrabhadra of Gauḍadeśa, whose minister Buddhisāgara excavated a dried up tank).
13. 40-212	=chap. 13.
	=chap. 14 (on occasions for impurity, and the requisite penances for purification).
chaps. 14-17	=chaps. 15-18.
18. 1-50	=chap. 19.
18. 51-131	= 20. 3-86.
chaps. 19-24	=chaps. 21-26.
chap. 25 (except verses 24-26)	=chap. 27 (except verses 23b-65a on snāna and saṃdhyā with the performance of nyāsa).
chaps. 26-34	=chaps. 28-36.
35. 1-70	=chap. 37.
35. 71-129	= ,, 38.
chaps. 36-37	=chaps. 39-40.
38. 1-126 (except verses 127-149)	=chap. 41 (especially except verses 116-122).

[169] Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 557.

The Skanda (VII. i.2.43) and the Agni-p. (272.8), which do not differ materially from the Matsya in laying down the characteristics of the Nāradīya-p., describe this work thus:

> "yatrāha nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpāśrayāṃs tv iha
> (Agni-p.—bṛhat-kalpāśritān iha)/
> pañcaviṃśat-sahasrāṇi (Agni-p.—pañcaviṃśa-sahasrāṇi)
> nāradīyaṃ tad ucyate//"

"That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims such (religious) duties in this world as were connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradīya".

From these descriptions it is evident that the Nāradīya-p., as known to the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., had Nārada as the principal speaker, described the (religious) duties connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa, and contained 25000 verses. But in the Bṛhannāradīya-p., though Nārada is said to have spoken to Sanatkumāra on various kinds of (religious) duties, there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa, and the number of verses is only about 3600. Moreover, the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p. clearly distinguish the Bṛhannāradīya from the Nāradīya-p., naming both of them side by side in their lists of Upapurāṇas;[170] and the manner in which the Smṛti-writers refer to and quote verses from this Upapurāṇa as well as from the Nāradīya, shows that it was known to them under the title Bṛhannāradīya-p. and not as Nāradīya. So, there is little scope for doubt that our Bṛhannāradīya is an Upapurāṇa quite distinct from the Nāradīya-p.

This work names the Rāśis (zodiacal signs) and the week-days on more occasions than one,[171] and betrays its knowledge of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. in the following verse:

> "ārādhito jagannātho mārkaṇḍeyena dhīmatā/
> purāṇa-saṃhitāṃ kartuṃ dattavān varam acyutaḥ//" (5.4).

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[170] For these lists see Chap. I (pp. 13 and 10) above.

[171] For the names of the Rāśis see Bnār. 6.31, 6. 39, and 27. 22-25, and for those of the week-days see ibid., 13. 80, 88, 89 and 91 (Bhānu-vāra, Soma-vāra, Indu-vāra).

No work preceding the Yājñavalkya-smṛti betrays any knowledge of the

"Being propitiated by the wise Mārkaṇḍeya, Acyuta, the lord of the world, granted (him) a boon to compile a Purāṇa-saṃhitā".

A comparison of the description of the conduct of the people and the activities of the Pāṣaṇḍas in the Kali age, as given in Bṛhannāradīya-p., chap. 38, with that occurring in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105, shows that the account of the former work is clearly based on that of the latter, from which it derives a good number of peculiar verses.[172] It is cognisant of Viṣṇu's Śakti and says that this Śakti permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction, and that she is identical with Umā, Lakṣmī, Durgā and others and also with Prakṛti and Māyā (or Mahāmāyā) which subjects all creatures to rebirths. Thus, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. records a developed Śakti theory, which points to a date posterior to that of the Jayākhya-saṃhitā[173] and not earlier than about 550 A. D. By its statements that even Ajāmila, a sinner and drunkard, earned freedom from sins and attained the highest region by simply uttering the name 'Nārāyaṇa'[174] (which was given to his youngest son) and that the great elephant (*gajendra*) got free from the clutch of the crocodile by praising the god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,[175] the Bṛhannāradīya-p. clearly

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Rāśis, which, therefore, appear to have been unknown to the Indians down to the beginning of the second century A.D.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

[172] See, for instance, Bnār. 38. 52, 54-58, 64b, etc., for which, as occurring in the Viṣṇudharma, see foot-note 108 on pp. 149-150 above.

We have already seen that the date of composition of the Viṣṇudharma is to be placed between 200 and 300 A.D. (See p. 143 above).

[173] This Saṃhitā is dated about 450 A.D., and in it Lakṣmī, Jayā, Kīrti and Māyā are called Viṣṇu's Śakti but are not said to play any part in creation.

[174] Bnār. 2. 44—

surāparo 'pi yannāma kīrtayitvā hy ajāmilaḥ/
prapede paramaṃ sthānaṃ ... ... //

Also 11. 29—

ajāmilo 'pi pāpātmā yan-nāmoccāraṇoddhṛtaḥ/
prāptavān paramaṃ dhāma ... ... //

[175] Ibid., 2. 28—yan-nāma-saṃkīrtanato gajendro grāhogra-bandhān mumuce sa eva/ ... ... //

refers to Bhāgavata-p. VI. 1-2 and VIII.2-4 respectively. It knows Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya and Bhaṭṭi's Rāvaṇa-vadha (*alias* Bhaṭṭi-kāvya), some of the expressions of which it imitates here and there.[176] It derives a complete verse[177] from Bhartṛhari's Nīti-śataka and composes two others[178] in imitation of a verse of his Vairāgya-śataka. It speaks very highly of the Tulasī plant and, unlike other early works, deifies it and inculcates its worship. So, this Upapurāṇa cannot be dated earlier than about the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The doctrine of nonduality and illusion, summarily referred to in Bnār. 31. 57ff., shows that it could not have been written much earlier than Śaṃkarācārya.

Again, a Ms of the Bṛhannāradīya-p., lying in the Dacca Univercity Library, is dated Śaka 1578 (=1656 A.D.);[179] another, preserved in the Durbar Library, Nepal, bears the date La.-Saṃ.425 (=1544 A.D.);[180] and a third, kept in the India Office Library, London, is dated 1535 A. D.[181] The Text of this work, as preserved in these

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[176] Compare, for instance, Bnār. 18. 108 (samyag-viveka-śūnyatvam āpadāṃ hi padaṃ mahat) and 32. 29 (vapur vināśa-nilayam āpadāṃ paramaṃ padam) with Kirātārjunīya 2. 30 (avivekaḥ param āpadāṃ padam) and 11.12-13 respectively, and Bnār. 7. 9-10 (*iyāja* so 'śvamedhān vai ... ... / *atarpayat* surān sarvān ... ... // *araṃsta* nīti-śāstreṣu *vyajeṣṭa* paripanthinaḥ/ mene kṛtārtham ātmānaṃ ... ... //) with Rāvaṇa-vadha 1.2 (so 'dhyaiṣṭa vedāṃs tridaśān ayaṣṭa pitṝn atārpsit samamaṃsta bandhūn/ vyajeṣṭa ṣaḍvargam araṃsta nītau samūlaghātaṃ nyavadhīd arīṃś ca//)

[177] Bnār. 35. 37—

mṛga-mīna-sajjanānāṃ tṛṇa-jala-saṃtoṣa-vihita-vṛttīnām/
lubdhaka-dhīvara-piśunā niṣkāraṇa-vairiṇo jagati//

This verse is the same as verse 50 of Bhartṛhari's Nīti-śataka.

[178] Bnār. 32. 26-27—

he janāḥ kiṃ na paśyadhvam āyuṣo 'rdhaṃ tu nidrayā/
hṛtaṃ ca bhojanādyaiś ca kiyad āyuḥ samāhṛtam//
kiyad āyur bāla-bhāvād vṛddha-bhāvāt kiyaddhṛtam/
kiyad viṣaya-bhogaiś ca kadā dharmān kariṣyatha//

Compare these verses with the following verse (No. 49) of the Vairāgya-śataka:

āyur varṣa-śataṃ nṛṇāṃ parimitaṃ rātrau tad-ardhaṃ gataṃ
tasyārdhasya parasya cārdham aparaṃ bālatva-vṛddhatvayoḥ/ etc.

[179-181] See foot-note 113 above.

Mss, tallying fully with that given by the printed editions, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. cannot be dated later than the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. As Bhāskara (or Bhairava)[182] draws upon chap. 13 of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. in his Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha, Mitra Miśra upon chaps. 2, 4, 11, 13, 24 and 25 in his Vīramitrodaya, Anantabhaṭṭa upon chaps. 13, 14 and 22-24 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, Sūra Miśra upon chap. 25 in his Jagannātha-prakāśa,[183] Gopāla-bhaṭṭa upon chaps. 1-6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38 in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, Raghunandana upon chaps. 7, 14, 22 and 24 in his Smṛti-tattva, Gaṇapati (of Mithilā) upon chaps. 14 and 15 in his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya upon chaps. 7, 14 and 25-27 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, Śrāddha-kaumudī and Śuddhi-kaumudī, and Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi upon chaps. 7, 14 and 24 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava,[184] and as Śūlapāṇi refers definitely to and quotes a line from chap. 16 with the mention of the title 'Bṛhannāradīya' in his Vrata-kāla-viveka,[185] the Bṛhannāradīya-p. can by no means be placed later than 1300 A. D. It has already been said that the Bṛhaddharma-p., which was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A. D.,[186] names both the

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[182] In the ASB Ms (No. 5946) of the Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha, which is the only Ms of this work hitherto discovered, the name of the author has been given as Bhairava in the second introductory verse and as Bhāskara in the final colophon. But unfortunately both the introductory verses and the final colophon were added in a later hand.

As the name 'Bhāskara' occurs in the title of the work, we have preferred it to 'Bhairava' given in the second introductory verse.

[183] This is an extensive Smṛti work composed at Indraprastha (Delhi) in Saṃvat 1654 (=1598 A.D.) under the patronage of Jagannātha, a scion of the Solar dynasty, who was born in Saṃvat 1603 (=1547 A.D.).

[184] A complete list of the quoted verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.

[185] See Vrata-kāla-viveka, p. 20—bṛhannāradīyokta-mārgaśirṣādi-dvādaśa-māsīya-dvādaśīvratasya 'mārgaśīrṣe śubhe māsi dvādaśyāṃ samupoṣitaḥ' ityādi-vacanena ... ... /

The quoted line is much the same as Bnār. 16. 4.

[186] A detailed discussion on the date and provenance of the Bṛhaddharma-p. will be made in a subsequent Volume of the present work. See,

Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas. The Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.), which was composed in Bengal not later than the twelfth century A. D.,[187] names a 'Nāradīya' Purāṇa called 'Bṛhannārada' and distinguishes it from the major Purāṇa called Nāradīya, saying:

> "nāradoktaṃ purāṇaṃ tu nāradīyaṃ pracakṣate/
> tasmād anyan nāradīyaṃ bṛhannārada-saṃjñakam//"[188]

"But the Purāṇa spoken out by Nārada (people) call Nāradīya. The Nāradīya other than that (Purāṇa) is named Bṛhannārada".

Like the Bṛhaddharma-p., the Ekāmra-p. also names both the Bṛhannāradiya and the Nāradīya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas; and we shall see afterwards that the Ekāmra-p. was written in Orissa some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[189] So, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. has to be dated not later than the middle of the tenth century A.D.

Here we should like to examine the mutual relation between the Bṛhannāradīya-p. and the present Nāradīya and see whether this relation renders us any help in making a nearer approach to the date of composition of the former work.

We have already seen how the present Nāradīya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Bṛhannāradīya with the exception of a few verses. There is no doubt that it is the Nāradīya-p. which borrows these chapters from the Bṛhannāradīya. As a matter of fact, the present Nāradīya-p. is practically an Upapurāṇa in which there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa and Nārada appears not as a speaker anywhere in its two Parts (called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga) but

however, Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, 1955, pp. 245-263.

[187] A detailed analysis of the Bengal Śiva-p. and a full discussion on its date will be made in Vol. III of the present work. For a preliminary study of this work see Hazra in Our Heritage, Vol. I, 1953, pp. 59-61 and 66-68.

[188] Dacca University Ms No. 4233 (of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Śiva-p.), chap. 23 (fol. 152a).

[189] The questions relating to the date and provenance of the Ekāmra-p. will be discussed in Vol. III of the present work. See, however, Hazra in Poona Orientalist, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.

as a hearer, to whom Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively in the four sections (Pāda) of the First Part (Pūrva-bhāga) only. Now, the question arises as to when the Nāradīya-p. incorporated the Bṛhannāradīya to form the first section of its First Part. An Examination of the Smṛti commentaries and Nibandhas shows that several hundreds of verses on Śrāddha, Tithi-nirṇaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc. have been quoted from the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradiya' in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Bhāguri's Smṛti-sāra-samuccaya (fol. 41b), Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Samaya-pradīpa (fol. 10a), Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 637) and Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 12a), Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Madanapāla's Madanapārijāta (pp. 265, 507, 539), Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Varṣa-kṛtya (pp. 157-158), Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's Tantrasāra (I, p. 47), Vācaspati-miśra's Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Sūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa (fols. 74b, 78b, 79a), and many other works. Most of these quoted verses occur in the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradīya-p.,[190] but only a very few lines[191] can be traced in Pūrva-bhāga, chaps. 1-41 (which, as we have already seen, are very much the same as Bṛhannāradīya-p., chaps. 1-38), although among these chapters there are some which deal elaborately with the said topics (viz., Śrāddha, Tithi-nirṇaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc.). It is particularly remarkable that of the numerous verses ascribed to the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradīya' in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, and Sūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa, not a single occurs in the first section (comprising chaps. 1-41) of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhaga, and that, of more than a century of verses quoted by Hemādri from the same work, only nine lines (quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi II. i, p. 995, III. i, p. 255, and III. ii, p. 153) agree with Nāradīya-p. I. 23. 8 and I. 25. 52b-55. Similar is the case with Raghunandana, Gadādhara and several others, very few of whose quotations from the 'Nāradīya-p.' are traceable in the first section of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhāga. This shows that the 'Nāradīya-p.', known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and many others, constitutes a part of the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradīya-p. and did not comprise the Bṛhannāradīya. The rare coincidences between the verses ascribed by these writers to the 'Nāradīya-p.', on the one hand, and those of chaps. 1-41 of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhāga, on the other, must be explained by saying that these particular verses occurred in the original Nāradīya-p. now lost to us, and that they have been retained in the Bṛhannāradīya-p. but lost from the 'Nāradīya-p.' known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others. As a matter of fact, the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradīya-p. begins abruptly without introducing the interlocutors Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ or explaining the occasion for Vasiṣṭha's narration of the Purāṇa topics. This shows that the 'Nāradīya-p.' known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others has not been preserved completely in the Uttarā-bhāga of the present Nāradīya.

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[190] For a list of these verses see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 315-317. The verses ascribed to the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradīya' in

(1) Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a =Nār. I. 23. 8.
(2) Vidyāpati's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, p. 259=Nar. II. 38. 38.
(3) Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī,
fol. 5b =Nar. II. 39. 25b-26a.
fol. 15b =Nar. II. 38. 34.
fol. 52a =Nar. II. 38. 38.

[191] Viz., two lines 'yāni kāni ca pāpāni etc.' (=Nār. I. 23. 8) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 995, and III. ii, p. 153, Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a, and Gadādhara's Kālasāra, p. 127; seven lines from 'aśvayuk-śuklanavamī etc.' (=Nār. I. 25. 52b-55) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 255; two lines 'bālāpatyāś ca garbhiṇyaḥ etc.' (=Nār. I. 7. 52) quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II. i, p. 59); eight lines (=Nār. I. 28. 2b, 20b, 63-64a, 67 and 69a) quoted in

From the above discussion it is evident that the determination of

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Govindānanda's Śrāddha-kaumudī, pp. 79, 83, 169 and 172; and five lines (=Nār. I. 27. 66, 30. 9b-13a, and 13. 98a) quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 369 and 543, and II, p. 365.

the period of incorporation of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. into the present Nāradīya is useless for any chronological deduction with respect to the former work. We are, therefore, obliged to place *the date of its composition between 750 and 900 A.D.* As this work does not appear to to have any major interpolation, this date may safely be taken to be that of all its parts.

Though being a comparatively late work and having its origin in a society which saw a great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. is entirely free from Tantric influence. It recommends the drawing of the Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and its painting with various hues in certain religious rites[192] but does not include the Tantric Yantra among the mediums of worship,[193] nor does it prescribe any Tantric Mantra or symbol or recognise the authority of the Tantric works.

Although we have got no correct knowledge about the provenance of the Bṛhannāradīya-p., there is little doubt about the fact that it was composed somewhere in Northern India. It repeatedly mentions and praises Prayāga and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā,[194] and especially Vārāṇasī and the Śiva-liṅga there,[195] refers, on one occasion, to the use of cars drawn by camels (uṣṭra-yāna—Bnār. 24. 26), and names the following twelve rivers as specially sacred: Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Revā, Sarasvatī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāverī, Kālindī, Bāhudā, Vetravatī, Tāmraparṇī and Śatadru[196] (most of them belonging to Southern India). On the other hand, it is the Ekāmra-p. (written in Orissa) which is the earliest work to name the Bṛhannāradīya-p. and to recognise it as an authoritative Upapurāṇa. Following the Ekāmra-p., two Purāṇic works of Bengal, viz., the Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.) and the Bṛhaddharma-p., recognise the authority of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. without a shade of doubt. Among the Smṛti-writers it is Śūlapāṇi of Bengal who is the first to draw upon this work; and it is remarkable that the comparatively early Smṛti-writers recognising the authority of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. belong mostly to Bengal and very rarely to Mithilā, that this work came to be accepted as an authority on Dharma in other parts of Northern India much later, and that it was unknown in Southern India to a still later period. So, it seems that some person from the land about the Narmadā or Vārāṇasī migrated to the eastern part of Orissa or the western part of Bengal and wrote the Bṛhannāradīya-p. immediately after settling there. It is perhaps for this reason that this work refers very often to the use and gift of betel-leaves[197] and denounces the stealing of betel-nuts (14. 43) and makes no mention of the rivers and holy places of Bengal, Orissa or Mithilā.

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[192] See Bnār. 16. 83, and 17. 27.

[193] Viz., Pratimā, Dvija, Bhūmi, Agni, Sūrya, Citra, etc. Bnār. 31. 33.

[194] See Bnār. 1. 41, 6. 5, 6. 9, 6. 37, and so on.

[195] Ibid., 6. 37, 6. 48, 33. 71, 34. 54-55, and so on.

[196] Ibid., 6. 32-33.

The Bṛhannāradīya-p. contains a number of interesting lines and verses including the following :

(a) saśaṅkaḥ sarvadā duḥkhī niḥśaṅkaḥ sarvadā sukhī/
sarva-bhūta-hito dānto niḥśaṅkaḥ sarvadaiva hi// (4.74).

(b) yasya mātā gṛhe nāsti bhāryā cāpriya-vādinī/
araṇyaṃ tena gantavyaṃ yathāraṇyaṃ tathā gṛham// (10 44)

(c) yasya mātā gṛhe nāsti putrā dharma-parāyaṇāḥ/
sādhvī ca strī pati-prāṇā yātavyaṃ tena vai vanam// (10.48).

(d) ātma-buddhiḥ śubhakarī guru-buddhir viśeṣataḥ/
para-buddhir vināśāya strī-buddhiḥ pralayaṃkarī// (11.93).

(e) tyaja durjana-saṃsargaṃ bhaja sādhu-samāgamam/
kuru puṇyam ahorātraṃ smara viṣṇuṃ sanātanam// (15. 17).

(f) na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati (31. 99).

(g) picumardaḥ phalāḍhyo 'pi kākair eveha bhujyate (34. 13).

(h) sujano na yāti vairaṃ para-hita-buddhir vināśa-kale 'pi/
chede 'pi candana-tarur vāsayati mukhaṃ kuṭhārasya/(35.34).[198]

The great popularity of the verses (b) and (d) in Bengal seems to point to this province as the place of origin of the Bṛhannāradīya-p., which belongs to the Bhāgavatas.

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[197] See ibid., 13. 142 (on praise of tāmbūla-dāna), 19. 8 (on offer of tāmbūla to Viṣṇu in Haripañcaka-vrata), 24. 36 (prohibition to take tāmbūla in an impure state), 26. 3 (tāmbūla—not to be taken by one performing Śrāddha), 26. 78 (offer of tāmbūla to the Brahmins fed in a Śrāddha ceremony), 29. 33 (pleasure enjoyed by a giver of tāmbūla).

[198] This verse has been ascribed to Ravigupta in Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, p. 38 (No. 237), but quoted anonymously in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, p. 38 (No. 241).

CHAPTER V

SOME LOST SAURA AND VAIṢṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

For more than two thousand years the Purāṇas have constituted a living literature in India, being intended to guide the common people in their religious and social life in different ages and also sometimes in different localities. The political changes and religious movements, which ancient and mediaeval India experienced not infrequently, could not be expected to allow the life of the people to remain static, but great care was taken by the Brahmins to preserve as far as possible the Vedic basis of religion and society under changed circumstances. As it was not possible for these leaders of the Hindu society to ignore totally the environments and the influence of the age, they had often to make a compromise between the old and the new life, and this spirit of compromise was responsible for the total extinction of some of the Purāṇic works and for changes and modifications in others. Among the principal Purāṇas the genuine Brahma, Brahmavarivarta and Garuḍa-purāṇa are still untraceable, the present Purāṇas of the same titles being spurious works of later dates. The loss sustained by the Upapurāṇa literature also is not negligible, and this will be evident from the number and nature of the extinct works treated of in the following pages and in the other Volumes of the present work. Of these extinct Upapurāṇas, not a single is now found to exist in manuscripts or printed forms. Isolated verses or extracts from some of these Upapurāṇas have been preserved as quotations in the Smṛti Nibandhas, but the rest are known merely by name either from the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Purāṇic and other works, or from the treatises on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc. which claim to be parts of these. It is, however, not quite impossible that manuscripts will be discovered some day of one or more of these Upapurāṇas which we now take to be extinct.

Our highly imperfect knowledge of the vast area of India and the literary activities of her people in the different ages of her history, stands seriously in the way of our preparing an exhaustive list of the lost Upapurāṇas. So, we have been compelled to limit our treatment of these lost works only to those few Upapurāṇas which have been named, described or drawn upon in various works, especially in those of the Purāṇa and the Smṛti literature. Of these few works, again, we supply information, in the following pages, only about those which have been known to have belonged definitely to the Sauras and the Vaiṣṇavas. The former sectaries, as the Bhaviṣya-p. indicates, began their literary activity quite early, but their output was very scanty unlike that of the Vaiṣṇavas, whose numerical strength has been balanced by their zealous literary activity in all ages.

We shall now record our information about the extinct Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas separately in two groups (A) and (B).

(A)

1. THE SAURADHARMA

This work has been mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p.[1] together with the 'eighteen Purāṇas', 'the Biography of Rāma' (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa), the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇudharma, the Śivadharma and other sacred works which are to be known by the technical term '*Jaya*'. So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. it was an early work dealing with the duties of the Sauras. But unfortunately its title has not been included in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us. Yet we have taken it to be an Upapurāṇa for two reasons. Firstly, it appears to have had the form and contents of a Purāṇic work; and secondly, the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara have been regarded as minor Purāṇas by various authorities.

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[1] See Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89—

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā//
viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ śivadharmāś ca bhārata//
kārṣṇaṃ vedaṃ pañcamaṃ tu yan mahābhāratam smṛtam//
saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahīpate/
jayeti nāma eteṣāṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ//

(The printed ed. wrongly reads 'śrautāḥ' for 'saurāḥ' in the fourth line. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 36-37 quoted on p. 113 above).

The above verses, as quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. i, pp. 19-20), Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 71), Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradipa (I, p. 22), and Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 17), read the second line as 'viṣṇudharmādi śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata' and the fourth line as 'saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahīpate,'

The Sauradharma has been drawn upon in Ananta-bhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta (II, p. 696), Gadādhara's Kālasāra (p. 129), Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa (p. 773), Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (fols. 30b and 31a-b), Raghunandada's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 142, and II, pp. 41 and 48), Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fols. 77b-78a), Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (p. 2), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. i, p. 1000, II. ii, pp. 552-7, and III. ii, pp. 114, 150, 179), Śūlapāṇi's Vrata-kāla-viveka (p. 18), and in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 39a). So, this work cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. We shall see below that the Sauradharmottara, which must have been written later than the Sauradharma, preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries. Hence *the Sauradharma must have been written earlier than 800 A. D.*

We cannot push the above date farther up, because we are not sure that the Sauradharma, drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers, was the same as the 'Saura Dharma' mentioned in Bhav. I.4.89 and I. 216. 37. Some of the verses, ascribed to the Sauradharma in the Smṛti Nibandhas, show that in this work, as known to the Smṛti-writers, Vasiṣṭha spoke to king Māndhātṛ at least in some of its parts, but according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Nārada (or Mānava) spoke out the 'Saura Dharmas' or 'the (religious) duties of the Sun-worshippers'.[2]

As the Viṣṇudharma and the Śivadharma, mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., belonged to the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas respectively, there can be little doubt about the fact that the 'Saura Dharma', known to the Bhaviṣya, must have dealt principally, if not entirely, with the duties of the Sun-worshippers. From the evidence of the quoted verses also we understand that the Sauradharma, as known to the Smṛti-writers, was a work of the Sauras and that at least in some parts of this work Sūta reported what he had heard from Vyāsa on the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ. Most of these quoted verses relate to fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi, two to the religious duties in the month of Māgha (māgha-kṛtyāni), and one to the eatables in the Kāmya-vrata; and there is one long extract, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 552-7, which deals with the Sūrya-vrata to be performed every month from Mārgaśīrṣa by placing a golden image of the Sun in a silver chariot. In the verses ascribed to the Sauradharma in the Vidhāna-pārijāta and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi there is mention of the Tulasī plant, of which three leaves are to be eaten up by the persons observing the Kāmya-vrata and the Sūrya-varta every month from Mārgaśīrṣa.

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[2] For the relevant verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. see the immediately preceding foot-note and also p. 113 above.

2. THE SAURADHARMOTTARA

This work also, like the Sauradharma mentioned above, should be regarded as an Upapurāṇa, although no writer has called it so. It has been drawn upon in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 776, 808), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (II, p. 50), Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya (fols. 12a, 13a, 13b), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. ii, p. 249) and Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 432-3, 443, 444, 447). So, *it must have been written not later than 900 A. D.*

The Sauradharmottara does not seem to have been rich in Smṛti materials. Only a few verses have been quoted from it in the Smṛti works, and all these verses relate to Ekādaśī-upavāsa.

3. THE SŪRYA-PURĀṆA

In his Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 2a) Caṇḍeśvara quotes a verse (saṃkrāntyāṃ ravi-vāre ca tathā cendu-parikṣaye, etc.), which he ascribes to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa'; Weber describes a Ms of the 'Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi' which claims to belong to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa'[3]; and in the Berlin Ms of the Bhaviṣyottara there is a chapter on Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata which, in its colophon, names the 'Sūrya-purāṇa' as its source.[4] As neither the said verse quoted by Caṇḍeśvara nor the chapters on Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi and Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata occur in the present Sāmba-p. and as no other writer is found to refer to or draw upon the Sāmba-p. under the title 'Sūrya-p.', there is little scope for doubt that the Sūrya-p. was a distinct work. Its title as well as its mention in the Bhaviṣya-p. as the source of the said chapter on Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata shows that the Sūrya p. belonged to the Sauras and was an early work. But unfortunately none of its Mss has come down to us.

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[3] See Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 1127, p. 325 (colophon—iti sūrya-purāṇe kṛṣṇa-pañcami-śrāddha-vidhiḥ samāptaḥ).

[4] Ibid., No. 468, p. 135 (see the colophon of chap. 50).

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, a Sūrya-p. quite distinct from the Bhaviṣya-p. is known to the Brahmins, called Sevaks, living round about Jodhpur.[5] As no Ms of this work is known to have been discovered as yet, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents. The fact that the Sevaks, who call themselves Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇas, 'know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Sūrya-purāṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa', shows clearly that this Sūrya-p. was a Saura work. It may be mentioned in this connection that in his Tithi-nirṇaya Caṇḍeśvara quotes a few verses by expressly naming the Bhaviṣya-p. as their source and that the verse of the 'Sūrya-p'. quoted in Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya occurs neither in the present Bhaviṣya-p. nor in the Bhaviṣyottara.

(B)

1. THE ĀDI-PURĀṆA

This work, which was also called Ādya-purāṇa, Sanatkumāra, Sānatkumāra, Sanatkumārīya, Sanatkumārokta and Sanatkumāra-prokta, was quite distinct from the present Ādi-p. published from Calcutta (with a Bengali translation) by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā in 1891 and from Bombay by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Śaka 1829 and preserved in Mss in all parts of India. It occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas and was a Vaiṣṇava work composed between 500 and 700 A.D. and probably during the sixth century.

For full information about this work see under 'Ādi-p.' in Chap. IV above.

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[5] See p. 100 above. Also Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

2. THE ĀṄGIRASA-UPAPURĀṆA

The title of this work is found included in none of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that given in the Ekāmra-p.,[6] nor does any comparatively early Smṛti-writer, except Gopāla-bhaṭṭa, draw upon or refer to it in his work. The only verse,[7] which Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from it in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 677, says that if, being afraid of rebirths, any one pronounces the name 'Vāsudeva', he is sure to become free from these and attain the region of Viṣṇu.

The title of this work and the quoted verse mentioned above indicate that this Upapurāṇa was narrated by the sage Aṅgiras and that it dealt primarily with the praise of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva.

Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's quotation from this Upapurāṇa and the mention of its title in the Ekāmra-p.[8] (which is drawn upon by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra and mentioned in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Śiva-p.[9]) show that it was *written earlier than 1000A.D.*, most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa. But as it is not mentioned in any other list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, and as none of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it *must have been composed at a date not much earlier than 900A.D.*

3. THE BṚHAD-VĀMANA-PURĀṆA

A 'Vāmana' Upapurāṇa is mentioned in some of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but there is not a single list which mentions the Bṛhad-vāmana-purāṇa. None of the comparatively early authors is found to draw upon or refer to this work. It is only in the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta that six verses have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-vāmana'. In the first of these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa refers to his indescribable mental condition at the remembrance of his Rāsa-līlā[10], and in the remaining five, Brahmā speaks to 'Bhṛgu and others' on the glory of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, for the dusts of whose feet Brahmā practised austerities for sixty thousand years.[11] From these quoted verses we understand that this Upapurāṇa was a Vaiṣṇava work and dealt primarily with the sports of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

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[6] For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above.

[7] vāsudeveti manuja uccārya bhava-bhītitaḥ/
tanmuktaḥ padam āpnoti viṣṇor eva na saṃśayaḥ//

[8-9] The periods of composition of these works will be discussed fully in Vol. III of the present work.

As the present Vāmana-p. does not contain any of these quoted verses or deal with any topic connected with the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, it cannot be the same as the Bṛhad-vāmana. The Vāmana-upapurāṇa also, if there were any Upapurāṇa of this title, must have been different from *the Bṛhad-vāmana*. The latter, as evidenced by its non-mention in any comparatively early work, *must have been written at a late date.*

4. THE BṚHAD-VIṢṆUDHARMA

This work has not been mentioned in any of the lists known to us, but about eight verses have been quoted from it in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p. 460. As in his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana has drawn upon the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta also, the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma must be a separate work. It must have been based on the Viṣṇudharmottara, because the verses, quoted from it in the Kālaviveka, agree with Viṣṇudharmottara I. 161. 1-8 and have Mārkaṇḍeya and a king (Vajra?) as the interlocutors.

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[10] Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 173 (I, No. 531)—
śrī-bṛhad-vāmane—
santi yady api me prājyā lilās tās tā manoharāḥ/
na hi jāne smṛte rāse mano me kīdṛśaṃ bhavet//

[11] Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 182 (II, Nos. 31-32)—
śrībṛhadvāmane ca bhṛgvādīn prati śrībrahma vākyam—
ṣaṣti-varṣa-sahasrāṇi mayā taptaṃ tapaḥ purā/
nanda-gopa-vraja-strīṇāṃ pāda-reṇūpalabdhaye//
tathāpi na mayā prāptās tāsāṃ vai pāda-reṇavaḥ//
bhṛgvādi-vākyam—
vaiṣṇavānāṃ pāda-rajo gṛhyate tvad-vidhair api/
santi te bahavo loke vaiṣṇavā nāradādayaḥ//
teṣāṃ vihāya gopīnāṃ pāda-reṇus tvayāpi yat/
gṛhyate saṃśayo me 'tra ko hetus tad vada prabho//
śrībrahma-vākyam—
na striyo vraja-sundaryaḥ putra śreṣṭhāḥ śriyo 'pi tāḥ/
nāhaṃ śivaś ca śeṣaś ca śrīś ca tābhiḥ samāḥ kvacit//

Jīmūtavāhana's quotations from *the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma* show that it *must have been written not later than 900A.D.* As it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara, it *cannot be dated earlier than 600A.D.*

5. THE BṚHAD-VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA

This work is mentioned as 'Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava' in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p.[12] and is drawn upon under the title 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7), Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 449, 495, 658, 661, 685), (Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's) Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108), (Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries) Bṛhat-toṣiṇī and Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī[12a] (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), (Sanātana-Gosvāmin's) Laghubhāgavatāmṛta (p. 147—I, No. 397, and pp. 163-4—I, No. 471), and (Ratnākara Miśra's) Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha[13]. In the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta this Upapurāṇa is also named as 'Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava'.

Hemādri's knowledge of *the Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* shows that this work *must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.* We do not know whether this Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p. was the same as the spurious 'Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa' known to Vallālasena.[14] This 'Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa' contained 23000 verses and was, therefore, an extensive (bṛhat) work.

The Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p. was undoubtedly a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from this work seven verses which say that the water, which is placed before the eyes of Keśava and is mixed with Tulasī leaves, or with which the Śālagrāma stone has been bathed, is extremely sanctifying,[15] that no twice-born man should hesitate to partake of the food and drink offered to Viṣṇu, because such food and drink are never affected by anybody's touch,[16] that the mention of Viṣṇu's name is highly sanctifying and beneficial and is able to destroy much more sin than a sinner can commit,[17] and that the muttering of the word 'vāsudeva' can give one final emancipation.[18] In the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta Viṣṇu is called 'nityāvatāra', 'nitya-mūrti', 'nitya-rūpa', 'nityaiśvarya-sukhānubhū' etc. and Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Vraja are said to have been described elaborately in the Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa.[19] According to the verse[20] quoted from the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa' in Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries Bṛhat-toṣiṇī and Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), Nanda's wife had two names, Yaśodā and Devakī, and it was for this reason that she had friendship with Devakī, wife of Śauri (Vasudeva). That the Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p. dealt also with penance, funeral ceremony etc., is evidenced by its verses quoted in the Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. Of these two works the latter has 30 metrical lines on gifts of umbrellas, chowries, mirrors, combs, young cows with calves, female buffaloes, bulls, camels, goats, sheep etc. to the departed forefathers, the recipients of all these gifts being the Brahmins.[21] In the Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108) five verses have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa'. In one of these verses the Sātvatas have been advised neither to worship the Pitṛs and the gods other than Viṣṇu nor to do any other kāmya *karman*;[22] one verse prescribes the worship of the gods and Pitṛs to those persons who are not Sātvatas; in one verse the sanctifying power of the Cāndrāyaṇa-vrata and the Dvādaśa-vārṣika-vrata has been put forth; and in the remaining two, Viṣṇu has been described as the cause of all kinds of bliss. It is to be noted that in the verse ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.' in Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā, p. 46, the word 'rājendra' has been used in the Vocative Case and that in explaining this verse Gopāla-bhaṭṭa takes this word to mean 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. So, in the Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p. somebody spoke to Yudhiṣṭhira on the topics mentioned above.

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[12] For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above.

[12a] Ascribed to Jīva Goṣvāmin in Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārin's edition of the Bhāgavarata-p.

[13] Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 579, No. 2530 (Ms No. 8520). The Ms is dated 1661 Śaka.

[14] Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 63-66)—

tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca/
trayoviṃśati-sāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam//
ṣaṭ-sahasra-mitaṃ liṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā/
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍayukti-ratnaparīkṣaṇaiḥ//
mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ/
asaṅgata-kathābandha-paraspara-virodhataḥ//
tan-mīnaketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām/
loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvadhīritam//

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[15] Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 449—
bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—
'tīrthādhikaṃ yajña-śatāc ca pāvanaṃ
jalaṃ sadā keśava-dṛṣṭi-saṃsthitam/
chinatti pāpaṃ tulasī-vimiśritam
viśeṣataś cakra-śilā-vinirmitam//'

[16] Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 495—
bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—
'naivedyaṃ jagadiśasya anna-pānādikaṃ ca yat/
bhakṣyābhakṣya-vicāraś ca nāsti tad-bhakṣaṇe dvijāḥ//
brahmavan nirvikāraṃ hi yathā viṣṇus tathaiva tat/
vikāraṃ ye prakurvanti bhakṣaṇe tad dvijātayaḥ//
kuṣṭha-vyādhi-samāyuktāḥ putra-dāra-vivarjitāḥ/
nirayaṃ yānti te viprā yasmān nāvartate punaḥ//

[17] Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 661—
sarva-rogopaśamanaṃ sarvopadrava-nāśanam/
śāntidaṃ sarva-riṣṭāṇāṃ harer nāmānukīrtanam//
Ibid., p. 658—
nāmno 'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaṇe hareḥ/
tāvat kartuṃ na śaknoti pātakaṃ pātakī janaḥ//
With this second verse the following Bengali saying may be compared:—

एक्वार रामनामे यत पाप हरे ।
जीवेर कि साध्य आछे तत पाप करे ॥

[18] Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685— ... ... kva japo vāsudeveti mukti-bījam anuttamam.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, II, pp. 68-69 (No. 635) R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the Karma-vipāka which, in its colophon,

[19] Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p.147 (I, No. 397), and pp. 163-164 (I, No. 471-śrībṛhad vaiṣṇave—vraje dvāravatīsthasya prādurbhāvo mura-dviṣaḥ/ bṛhadviṣṇu-purāṇādāv asakṛd bahudhocyate//).

[20] dve nāmnī nanda-bhāryāyā yaśodā devakity api/
atah sakhyam abhūt tasyā devakyā śauri-bhāryayā//

[21] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7.

[22] Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā, p. 45—
na darbha-dhāraṇaṃ kuryāt na ca saṃkalpam ācaret/
na kāmyaṃ sātvato mārgaṃ śaṃbhu-devādi-pūjanam//

claims to be an extract from the Bhṛgu-saṃhitā belonging to the Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p. The date of this Ms is 1687 Śaka (= 1765 A. D.), and in it Bhṛgu speaks to Bharata, son of Śakuntalā, on the diseases and other evils resulting in this life from sins committed in a previous one, as well as on the expatiations meet for their removal.

6. THE BṚHANNARASIṂHA-PURĀṆA

We have said above[23] that the Ekāmra-p. clearly distinguishes between the 'Nārasiṃha' and the 'Bṛhannārasiṃha' by including the former among the principal Purāṇas and the latter among the Upapurāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa is found to ascribe about a century of verses to the Narasiṃha-p. and 63 verses (on Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata) to the Bṛhannarasiṃha-p. So, according to Gopāla-bhaṭṭa also, the Bṛhannarasiṃha-p. was distinct from the Narasiṃha-p. But as the 63 verses, quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.', have been ascribed to the 'Narasiṃha-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 41-49, it is probable that either Hemādri took these two Purāṇic works to be identical, or the extract on the Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata occurred in both these works. It should be mentioned here that none of the 63 verses, mentioned above, is found in the present text of the Narasiṃha-p.

As *the Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.* is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p., it *must be dated earlier than the eleventh century A.D.*

7. THE DAURVĀSASA-UPAPURĀṆA (*alias* ĀŚCARYA-UPAPURĀṆA?)

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas except those contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p.[24] In some of these lists it is named as 'Durvāsasokta'; the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. calls it 'Durvāsaḥ-saṃprokta'; and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin names it as 'Durvāsaḥ-purāṇa'. In the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Kūrma-p., Garuḍa-p., and Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) as well as in those lists which are ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in the Malamāsa-tattva, Vīramitrodaya, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Śabda-kalpadruma, this Upapurāṇa is described as 'durvāsasoktam āścaryam.'

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[23] See Chap. III (under Narasiṃha-p.) above.

[24] For these lists see Chap. I above.

We are not sure whether the word 'āścarya' is the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas', or it is merely an adjective denoting the nature of this Upapurāṇa. Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya, in his commentary on the Malamāsa-tattva, takes the word 'āścarya' to be the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas'.[25]

According to the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya the 'Daurvāsasa' Upapurāṇa belonged to the 'Bhāgavata' Purāṇa.[26] So, this Upapurāṇa must have been a work of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it *must have been written before 800 A.D.* and that it attained great popularity at an early date. As no Ms of this Upapurāṇa or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been discovered as yet, and as none of the commentators and Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it is not possible to say anything about its contents. It seems that this work became extinct even before the tenth century A. D.

8. THE KAUṢIKA- (OR KAUṢIKĪ-) PURĀṆA

This work has been mentioned in Bhavānanda's Hari-vaṃśa[27], a popular work composed in Bengali verses in the district of Sylhet or Tipperah some time between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. According to Bhavānanda, the Kauṣika-p. (also called Kauṣikī-p. in some of the Mss of the Hari-vaṃśa)[28] contained the following story.[29]

When descending to the earth with the purpose of relieving her of her burden, god Nārāyaṇa asked Garuḍa which form he would assume to accompany him to the land of mortals. Garuḍa was not willing to change his form during such a dangerous period. So, he assured

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[25] Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍicaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—āścaryam āścaryākhyam.

[26] daurvāsasaṃ pañcamaṃ ca smṛtaṃ bhāgavate sadā.—Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 49b, and Revā-māhātmya (as described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat., p. 65).

[27] See Hari-vaṃśa, p. 186 (line 7966) and p. 187 (line 7992).

[28] Ibid., p. 187, foot-note 15.

[29] Ibid., pp. 184-187 (lines 7901-7992).

Nārāyaṇa that he would present himself to serve as a mount as soon as Nārāyaṇa would remember him in times of his need. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to remain separated from Garuḍa for a long time. He said to Garuḍa:

"Hear, Oh eater of snakes, hear now the wish of my heart. When I shall be passing some time at Gokula as a child, a part of yours will remain with me. You will be born as a cuckoo, [and] I shall constantly hear [your] high, sweet note. When, after my killing of Kaṃsa by going to Mathurā, king Jarāsandha will challenge me to war, I shall remember you on that very day. As you do not agree to accompany me by forsaking this body [of yours], the cuckoo will give up its life without finding me, and all its energy and strength will pass into you".

Now, Nārāyaṇa was born on earth as Kṛṣṇa, and a part of Garuḍa became a cuckoo. In course of time, when Kṛṣṇa was away in Mathurā and Rādhā was pining for him, the cuckoo, being unable to bear his separation, searched for him in all possible places and at last went to Rādhā's house with the hope of finding him there. But dire disappointment was in store for the cuckoo. It gave up its life as a result of the rude shock, and its soul passed to Vaikuṇṭha and enterd the body of Garuḍa.

From the mention of Rādhā in the above story as given by Bhavānanda it appears that the Kauṣika- (or Kauṣikī-) purāṇa, known to him, was a Vaiṣṇava work written at a comparatively late period. The total absence of any mention of this Purāṇa in any work other than Bhavānanda's Hari-vaṃśa shows that it was a work of local origin and highly limited recognition.

9. THE LAGHU-BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which includes the name of this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 657, 660, 667, 685) Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work six verses on the praise of pronouncing the name of Govinda (or Hari). So, this work must have been written in Western Bengal or Orissa not later than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 800 A.D. Its title as well as the quoted verses shows that it was a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. In the verse from it in Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685 the word 'nṛpa' has been used in the Vocative Case. So, in this Upapurāṇa somebody, whose name is unknown to us, spoke to a king (whose name also we do not know) on the benefits of pronouncing the name of Hari.

10. THE MĀGHA-PURĀṆA

A Purāṇic work of this name has been mentioned in the colophon of a Ms of the Bāla-gopāla-stuti ascribed to 'Śrī-paramahaṃsa-parivrājaka-śrīpāda-Bilvamaṅgala'.[30] The words 'iti māgha-purāṇe bhagavad-vākyam', used in this colophon, tend to indicate that the Māgha-p. had the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) as one of its speakers. As we have not yet met with any second mention of this Purāṇa anywhere, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents and do not know whether it was the same as the "Māgha-smṛti" mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary on the Bhāgavata-p. It is, however, sure that this Magha-p. is not the same as the Māgha-māhātmya belonging to the Padma-p., Uttara-khaṇḍa.

11. THE PRABHĀSA-PURĀṆA

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned as 'Prabhāsaka' in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Ekāmra-p, ; and from this work Sanātana Gosvāmin quotes one metrical line on the praise of the name of Kṛṣṇa in his commentary Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī,[31] and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa has a complete verse on the same topic in his Haribhakti-vilāsa.[32] So, this Prabhāsa-p. must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. Its non-mention in the other lists shows that it was a comparatively late work.

From the title of this Upapurāṇa as well as from Sanātana Gosvāmin and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's quotations from this work we understand that it was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise of Krsna and Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that in it Nārada narrated to (king) Kuśadhvaja what he had heard from Kṛṣṇa. Beyond this we have got no further information about this Upapurāṇa.

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[30] For information about this Ms see O. C. Ganguly in Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 285-9.

[31] See Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī on Bhāg. X. 8, 13—
uktaṃ ca prabhāsa-purāṇe—
madhura-madhuram etan maṅgalaṃ maṅgalānām//

[32] Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 689—
prabhāsa-purāṇe nārada-kuśadhvaja-saṃvāde śrībhagavad-uktau—
nāmnāṃ mukhyataraṃ nāma kṛṣṇākhyaṃ me paraṃtapa/
prāyaścittam aśeṣāṇāṃ pāpānāṃ mocakaṃ param//

The Prabhāsa-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. In the latter work, the lines, ascribed by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa to the 'Prabhāsa-purāṇa', are not found, nor is there any interlocution between Nārada and Kuśadhvaja.

12. THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARĀMṚTA

The name of this work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us, nor is it referred to or drawn upon in any work except Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, which has two verses[33] from it on p. 464. The absence of these two quoted verses in the Viṣṇudharmottara, shows that the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta was a separate work; but its title indicates that it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara.

The Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta must have been written later than the Viṣṇudharmottara but a few centuries earlier than Jīmūtavāhana. Hence *it is to be dated between 600 and 900 A. D.*

13. THE VṚDDHA-PADMA-PURĀṆA

This work has been mentioned as 'Vṛddha-pādma' in Śrī-anantācārya's Prapannāmṛta.[34] According to Śrī-anantācārya, this 'Vṛddha-pādma' contained stories about Rāmānuja and the Alwar saints of Southern Indian. So, it seems to have been a late work. It is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor referred to or drawn upon by any of the Smṛti-writers, early or late.

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[33] These two verses are the following:

dvādaśī sravaṇā-yuktā spṛśed ekādaśīṃ yadi/
sa eva vaiṣṇavo yogo viṣṇu-śṛṅkhala-saṃjñitaḥ//
tasminn upoṣya vidhivan naraḥ saṃkirṇa-kalmaṣaḥ/
prāpnoty anuttamām ṛddhiṃ punar-āvṛtti-durlabham//

[34] Prapannāmṛta (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), chap. 73, verses 24-29, and chap. 75, verses 5-6.

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